Addison's Criticisms On Paradise Lost

Cook

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/criticismsonpara0000albe

As a teacher of wisdom he may be confidently followed. His religion has nothing in it enthusiastic or superstitious; he appears neither weakly credulous nor wantonly sceptical; his morality is neither dangerously lax nor impracticably rigid. All the enchantment of fancy and all the cogency of argument are employed to recommend to the reader his real interest, the care of pleasing the Author of his being. Truth is shown sometimes as the phantom of a vision; sometimes appears half-veiled in an allegory; sometimes attracts regard in the robes of fancy; and sometimes steps forth in the confidence of reason. She wears a thousand dresses, and in all is pleasing.

Mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet.

His prose is the model of the middle style: on grave subjects not formal, on light occasions not groveling; pure without scrupulosity, and exact without apparent elaboration; always equable and always easy, without glowing words or pointed sentences. Addison never deviates from his track to snatch a grace; he seeks no ambitious ornaments, and tries no hazardous innovations. His page is always luminous, but never blazes in unexpected splendor.

It was apparently his principal endeavor to avoid all harshness and severity of diction; he is therefore sometimes verbose in his transitions and connections, and sometimes descends too much to the language of conversation; yet if his language had been less idiomatical, it might have lost somewhat of its genuine Anglicism. What he attempted he performed: he is never feeble, and he did not wish to be energetic; he is never rapid, and he never stagnates. His sentences have neither studied amplitude nor affected brevity; his periods, though not diligently rounded, are voluble and easy. Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison.

JOHNSON, *Life of Addison.*

821.4
M642pc
22674

Addison

CRITICISMS ON PARADISE LOST

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

ALBERT S. COOK

PROFESSOR OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
IN YALE UNIVERSITY

Property Of
[redacted]
COLLEGE LIBRARY
Newhall, California

THE MASTER'S COLLEGE
POWELL LIBRARY
SANTA CLARITA, CA 91321

BOSTON, U.S.A.
PUBLISHED BY GINN & COMPANY
1892

[redacted]
LIBRARY

Copyright, 1892,
By ALBERT S. COOK.

All Rights Reserved.

Typography by J. S. Cushing & Co., Boston, U.S.A.
Presswork by Ginn & Co., Boston, U.S.A.

TO

MERRILL EDWARDS GATES

SOMETIME PRESIDENT OF MY ALMA MATER

PREFACE.

THE text of the present edition is based upon the professedly literal reprints by Arber and Morley. I use the word 'professedly' because, notwithstanding that they are supposed to have faithfully copied the same original, these two editors not seldom disagree, as a glance at my foot-notes will show. Perhaps we may save their credit by assuming that there were trifling variations between different copies belonging to the same edition. By recording the differences noted I have sought to assign a limit to possible error in the text, and to place the reader in a position to form his own judgment in doubtful cases.

In the notes, Morley has occasionally been of service, but this assistance has been at least offset by his false references, which, though few in number, have given me considerable trouble in the attempt to verify them. On the other hand, accurate information on single difficult points has been furnished me by my colleagues, Professors Tracy Peck, George T. Ladd, and Edward P. Morris, and by Mr. Guy V. Thompson, a graduate student of Yale University.

It is hoped that the index will be useful, not only to students of Milton, but incidentally to those of Homer and

Virgil. It has been compiled with care, and should be reasonably full and accurate.

In conclusion, if this work does something to rehabilitate Addison in the status of a critic worthy of respectful consideration, and to facilitate and deepen the study of Paradise Lost, the purpose of its editor will be accomplished.

ALBERT S. COOK.

YALE UNIVERSITY, August 1, 1892.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	ix
ADDISON'S CRITICISMS ON PARADISE LOST	1
1. The Fable or Plot (No. 267, Jan. 5, 1712)	1
2. The Characters (No. 273, Jan. 12)	8
3. The Sentiments (No. 279, Jan. 19)	14
4. The Language (No. 285, Jan. 26)	21
5. The True Critic (No. 291, Feb. 2)	29
6. Defects of the Poem (No. 297, Feb. 9)	34
7. Book I (No. 303, Feb. 16)	42
8. Book II (No. 309, Feb. 23)	52
9. Book III (No. 315, March 1)	61
10. Book IV (No. 321, March 8)	69
11. Book V (No. 327, March 15)	80
12. Book VI (No. 333, March 22)	89
13. Book VII (No. 339, March 29)	99
14. Book VIII (No. 345, April 5)	108
15. Book IX (No. 351, April 12)	117
16. Book X (No. 357, April 19)	126
17. Book XI (No. 363, April 26)	138
18. Book XII (No. 369, May 3)	148
NOTES	157
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES	193

INTRODUCTION.

THERE are indications that Addison's literary criticisms, and especially his papers on Paradise Lost, are not so generally read, nor so highly esteemed, as was the case a hundred years ago. We hear much of the Roger de Coverley series and of the Fan Drill, when we hear of Addison at all, but little of his more serious and solid writings. "He does not go very deep," says his admirer Thackeray. Can it also be that, when he strives to go deep, he is not worth the labor of perusal? Says Leslie Stephen, treating of Addison in the Dictionary of National Biography, "The critical doctrines are obsolete, and the judgments often worse than obsolete." Were this true, there would be little need of re-editing the essays on Paradise Lost. Is it true?

For our part we think not, or at least we dissent from the sweeping form of the statement. Other causes must contribute to the contemporary, and, we think, temporary neglect of his critical essays. Perhaps we shall discover some of them through an examination of Matthew Arnold's strictures in that one of his Mixed Essays entitled A French Critic on Milton. Much of the portion relevant to this inquiry is cited in our Notes, but for the sake of convenience we may be permitted to reintroduce, from point to point of the discussion, what is most significant in his criticism.

It must be premised that Arnold is not lacking in respect for Milton. Not only does he quote him in other essays as furnishing examples of the grand style, but, in the Address delivered at the unveiling of the Memorial Window, Feb.

13, 1888, he is full of laudatory appreciations of Milton's genius. Thus he says: "Shakespeare and Milton — he who wishes to keep his standard of excellence high, cannot choose two better objects of regard and honor." Again: "If to our English race an inadequate sense for perfection of work is a real danger, if the discipline of respect for a high and flawless excellence is peculiarly needed by us, Milton is of all our gifted men the best lesson, the most salutary influence. In the sure and flawless perfection of his rhythm and diction he is as admirable as Virgil or Dante, and in this respect he is unique amongst us. No one else in English literature and art possesses the like distinction." And again: "Milton, from one end of Paradise Lost to the other, is in his diction and rhythm constantly a great artist in the great style. Whatever may be said as to the subject of his poem, as to the conditions under which he received his subject and treated it, that praise, at any rate, is assured to him."

It may be remarked in passing that, when Arnold speaks of "the sure and flawless perfection of his rhythm and diction," he is at variance with such critics, not only as Addison, but as Dryden, as Johnson, and as Landor. Dryden charges Milton with running "into a flat thought, sometimes for a hundred lines together." Johnson remarks: "His play on words, in which he delights too often; his equivocations, which Bentley endeavors to defend by the example of the ancients; his unnecessary and ungraceful use of terms of art; it is not necessary to mention, because they are easily remarked, and generally censured." Though it is true he adds, "And at last bear so little proportion to the whole that they scarcely deserve the attention of a critic." The criticisms of Landor occupy considerable space in the Conversation between himself and Southey. No one of these distinguished authors goes so far as to say, with Arnold, "From style really high and pure Milton never departs." 'Never'

is an emphatic word, yet one that could easily be condoned in most writers; it strikes us with surprise only as coming from a critic who, speaking of such as have made a certain degree of progress in the intellectual life, calmly adds, "At this stage, rhetoric, even when it is so good as Macaulay's, dissatisfies."

Arnold begins that part of his article which is concerned with Addison by saying: "This is the fault of Addison's Miltonic criticism, once so celebrated; it rests almost entirely upon convention." If we are seriously to consider the animadversions which follow, we are disposed to inquire at the outset regarding the sense in which the word 'convention' is used. But we are not left wholly in the dark by Arnold himself. Thus he tells us, for instance, after three or four pages of disquisition, that "the great merit of Johnson's criticism on Milton is that from rhetoric and convention it is free." We may therefore obtain assistance in discovering Arnold's sense of the word 'convention' by examining Johnson's criticism, seeing what it contains, and deliberately assuring ourselves that whatever we find in it is at least free from the odious blot of conventionality.

Turning, then, to Johnson's remarks on Paradise Lost, we observe, first of all, that he calls it "a poem which, considered with respect to design, may claim the first place, and, with respect to performance, the second, among the productions of the human mind." We shall be somewhat surprised, on again referring to Arnold's essay, to discover that he criticizes Addison for the opinion that "the Paradise Lost is looked upon by the best judges as the greatest production, or at least the noblest work of genius in our language, and therefore deserves to be set before an English reader in its full beauty." To an unsophisticated understanding it would seem that Addison claims rather less for the poem than Johnson. But Johnson's criticism is devoid of convention, according to Matthew Arnold. May we not therefore assume that Addison is blameless on this score?

In the next paragraph, Johnson discusses the epic poem, from which it would appear that he regards Paradise Lost as an epic. Here we are given pause, for are we not dangerously near a convention at this point? Professor Whitney, the eminent philologist, referring to the word 'conventional,' thus defines it ('Max Müller and the Science of Language,' p. 11): "The word everywhere signifies neither more nor less than 'resting on a mutual understanding or a community of habit.'" But does not the word 'epic' rest on a mutual understanding? If you range a given poem under a certain head, assign it to a certain class, call it by the name of a distinct historical species, are you not availing yourself of a convention? Has the term epic, considered as the name of a poetical species, any meaning apart from convention? Are you not, in thus doing, appealing to a tradition, according to which a poem composed in a particular way, or at least possessing certain recognizable characteristics, is called an epic? If an opponent denies that the name is properly bestowed upon a composition which you call an epic, have you any recourse except to the statements of the literary historians and critics your predecessors, who have given the name to works which you esteem similar? And if you are still challenged to make good your assumption, can you do otherwise than point out these similarities, ranging them, if you can thus facilitate the demonstration, under convenient or natural heads? In other words, is not your appeal, under these circumstances, to history, to a literary tradition — in short, to convention? But Arnold says, we must remember, that "the great merit of Johnson's criticism on Milton is that from rhetoric and convention it is free."

Johnson considers the epic under the heads of the fable, the characters, the sentiments, the diction, and the versification, treating by the way of the probable and the marvelous, the machinery, the episodes, the integrity of the design, the

question whether Paradise Lost can be properly termed heroic, and who is to be regarded as the hero. The fable? The characters? The sentiments? Are none of these conventional? Certainly when Addison takes "a general view of it under these four heads — the fable, the characters, the sentiments, and the language," Mr. Arnold has nothing better to say for his judgment than what follows: "This is the sort of criticism which held our grandfathers and great-grandfathers spellbound in solemn reverence. But it is all based upon convention, and on the positivism of the modern reader it is thrown away." Does the positivism of the modern reader, then, enable him to dispense with a definite critical vocabulary when he wishes to discuss the merits and peculiarities of a poem? Or are we supposed to have advanced beyond the stage of discussion, and to enjoy, or dislike, in silence? Apparently not; else why Essays in Criticism, First Series and — Second Series?

Evidently we are in a quandary. We might take refuge in the hypothesis that our guide, knowing the terminology employed by Addison to be of Greek coinage, and, if the truth must be admitted, Aristotelian, objected to it as antiquated and effete. Yet, it might be answered, why change the names, if the things still exist? We might call the beams and rafters of a house by names of our own invention, if we chose; but to what purpose, provided their essential functions, their offices in the building, remained the same? We should still need *some* names, provided the framework of the edifice remained materially unchanged. That the framework of Paradise Lost is, in the main, similar to that of ancient compositions known as epics, is allowed by Arnold; for does he not say, "The great merit of Johnson's criticism on Milton is that from rhetoric and convention it is free"? And does not Johnson recognize this framework? Does he not, indeed, retain the ancient names, in this respect quite on a level with Addison himself?

Johnson has the temerity to observe, "To the completeness or integrity of the design nothing can be objected; it has distinctly and clearly what Aristotle requires, a beginning, a middle, and an end. There is perhaps no poem of the same length from which so little can be taken without apparent mutilation." The temerity, we have said, though perhaps Mr. Arnold would rather qualify it as inadvertence. At all events, in his censure of Addison he inquires, "What avails it to assure him [the reader] that 'the first thing to be considered in an epic poem is the fable, which is perfect or imperfect, according as the action which it relates is more or less so'; that 'this action should have three qualifications, should be but one action, an entire action, and a great action'; and that if we 'consider the action of the Iliad, Æneid, and Paradise Lost in these three several lights, we shall find that Milton's poem does not fall short in the beauties which are essential to that kind of writing'?"

Occasionally Mr. Arnold makes a trifling concession to Addison's view, yet never so as to exonerate him entirely. For example: "Sometimes the convention is one which in theory ought, a man may perhaps admit, to be something more than a convention; but which yet practically is not. Milton's poem is of surpassing interest to us, says Addison, because in it 'the principal actors are not only our progenitors but our representatives. We have an actual interest in everything they do, and no less than our utmost happiness is concerned, and lies at stake, in all their behavior.' Of ten readers who may even admit that in theory this is so, barely one can be found whose practical experience tells him that Adam and Eve do really, as his representatives, excite his interest in this vivid manner. It is by a mere convention, then, that Addison supposes them to do so, and claims an advantage for Milton's poem from the supposition." All the more must we wonder to find such a flagrant error condoned, and apparently sanctioned, by the unimpeachable,

or at all events unimpeached, authority of Dr. Johnson. How can the latter say, "It is justly remarked by Addison that this poem has, by the nature of its subject, the advantage above all others, that it is universally and perpetually interesting. All mankind will, through all ages, bear the same relation to Adam and to Eve, and must partake of that good and evil which extend to themselves"?

In one place Mr. Arnold quotes Addison at some length, and in the context remarks: "The theological speeches in the third book of Paradise Lost are not, in themselves, attractive poetry. . . . Nine readers out of ten feel that, as a matter of fact, their religious sentiments of 'divine love and religious fear' are wholly ineffectual even to reconcile them to the poetical tiresomeness of the speeches in question; far less can they render them interesting. It is by a mere convention, then, that Addison pretends that they do." What then shall we say to Johnson's remarks under this head? "The good and evil of Eternity are too ponderous for the wings of wit; the mind sinks under them in passive helplessness, content with calm belief and humble adoration. Known truths, however, may take a different appearance, and be conveyed to the mind by a new train of intermediate images. This Milton has undertaken, and performed with pregnancy and vigor of mind peculiar to himself. Whoever considers the few radical positions which the Scriptures afforded him will wonder by what energetic operation he expanded them to such extent and ramified them to such variety, restrained as he was by religious reverence from licentiousness of fiction."

It would be interesting, and perhaps not uninstructive, to compare the passage from Macaulay concerning Milton's hesitation between a material and an immaterial system, upon which Mr. Arnold pours out the vials of his scorn, with the paragraphs of Johnson which Macaulay seemingly had in mind; but this is aside from our present subject and purpose.

In one point, if no more, Johnson and Arnold agree. Thus Arnold: "Where is the use of telling him that 'Adam and Eve are drawn with such sentiments as do not only interest the reader in their afflictions, but raise in him the most melting passions of humanity and commiseration'? His own experience, on the other hand, is that the incidents in Paradise Lost are such as awaken in him but the most languid interest; and that the afflictions and sentiments of Adam and Eve never melt or move him passionately at all." And so also Johnson: "The man and woman who act and suffer are in a state which no other man or woman can ever know. The reader finds no transaction in which he can be engaged, beholds no condition in which he can by any effort of imagination place himself; he has, therefore, little natural curiosity or sympathy."

With these parallels we may dismiss the comparison between Addison and Johnson, leaving the conclusion to be drawn by the reflective reader.

We have now to examine another point. The chief 'conventions' which Addison can justly be taxed with observing are those laid down by Aristotle in his Poetics. Whether Addison is justifiable or not in applying these conventions to Paradise Lost depends in part upon whether Milton held himself amenable to them. That he did hold himself thus amenable can scarcely be doubted by any one who has read his treatise On Education. Milton would have the art of poetry taught, which he conceives of as "that sublime art which in Aristotle's Poetics, in Horace, and the Italian commentaries of Castelvetro, Tasso, Mazzoni, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true epic poem, what of a dramatic, what of a lyric; what decorum[1] is, which is the grand master-

[1] Meaning by 'decorum,' according to Lowell in his essay on Pope, 'a higher or organic unity.' Countenance to this interpretation is given by the passage in Cicero's Orator, chap. 21, and by several observations of Quintilian.

piece to observe." This convention, accordingly, is admitted not only by Addison and Johnson, but by Milton himself. If Aristotle's Poetics is regarded as authoritative by such qualified predecessors, including the author of the poem criticized, on what grounds is it objected to by Arnold?

But there is some reason for thinking that even Arnold does not repudiate the authority of the Poetics; at least not always. In his well-known essay on The Study of Poetry he takes a sentence of Aristotle's as a kind of text on which to ring his wonted changes: "Only one thing," he says, "we may add as to the substance and matter of poetry, guiding ourselves by Aristotle's profound observation that the superiority of poetry over history consists in its possessing a higher truth and a higher seriousness." Yet he comes into direct conflict with Aristotle in asserting that, of all the constituent elements of poetry, it is diction, or diction and movement, that must be reckoned supreme. This is a favorite topic, and one to which he often recurs; a single quotation may serve, the better that it is from his Address on Milton: "The mighty power of poetry and art is generally admitted. But where the soul of this power, of this power at its best, chiefly resides, very many of us fail to see. It resides chiefly in the refining and elevation wrought in us by the high and rare excellence of the great style." Aristotle as unequivocally declares (and Milton approves) that in poetry, that is, in epic and tragedy, the principal thing is the fable, or plot.

Glimmerings of the importance of plot Arnold seems to have had, at least towards the close of his life. In this very Address on Milton he cannot avoid confessing, "Justice is not at present done, in my opinion, to Milton's management of the inevitable matter of a Puritan epic, a matter full of difficulties for a poet. Justice is not done to the *architectonics*, as Goethe would have called them, of Paradise Lost; in these, too, the power of Milton's art is remarkable. But

this may be a proposition which requires discussion and development for establishing it." Yet the very discussion and development which aimed at establishing it, and which did establish it sufficiently to be accepted by Johnson, Arnold had in his earlier essay, written ten years before, exposed to ridicule. What else is plot but the very foundation of architectonics in a narrative poem? And how can there be any cohesion, any suspense, any light and shade, any interest of whatever kind, except through plot? Rather, if we must go to extremes, would we side with a popular contemporary lecturer in saying, "To train the sense of this Higher Unity is the foundation step in literary study, whether of Biblical or any other literature."

Again, Arnold appears to fall into what nearly resembles confusion of thought in discussing the contrast of the necessary and the actual. He says: "The truth is, Addison's criticism rests on certain conventions: namely, that incidents of a certain class *must* awaken keen interest; that sentiments of a certain kind *must* raise melting passions; that language of a certain strain, and an action with certain qualifications, *must* render a poem attractive and effective. Disregard the convention; ask solely whether the incidents *do* interest, whether the sentiments *do* move, whether the poem *is* attractive and effective, and Addison's criticism collapses." This must mean either that Addison's psychology is false, or his knowledge of literary history defective; or rather it must mean both.

We are all in the habit of inferring what will be from what has been, and no one can on this score reproach another. It is thus we infer that fire will burn, or that the sun will rise to-morrow. On a certain occasion, bread gave nourishment and strength to a man faint with hunger. It has given nourishment and strength to many men faint with hunger. Hence we infer that it is the property of bread to nourish and strengthen the hungry. The spectacle of

outcast old age, royal but abased, stung by remorse for a fault committed under the stress of delusion, and dependent for comfort and cherishing upon the ministrations of a loving and devoted daughter, is touching in the person of Œdipus. Œdipus belongs, it is true, to the prehistoric, to the mythic age of Greece. Does this circumstance preclude us from believing that such a spectacle would be affecting to-day, would be affecting in England or America, would be and is always and everywhere affecting? And is not our conclusion substantiated in the person of King Lear? When Balzac writes Le Père Goriot, or Turgenieff composes A Lear of The Steppes, is not each acting in the confidence that human nature remains ever essentially the same, and that a change of scene from Britain to France or Russia, and from some half-buried century to the present age, does not alter the fundamental conditions of his literary problem and its solution?

In the Odyssey, Ulysses is represented as inured to adventure, sagacious, bold, fertile in expedients, and possessing great ascendency over his comrades. The Ulysses thus represented is interesting as a character. Have we not a right to assume that a Ulysses possessing these qualities will continue to be interesting when placed in a new setting, and engaged in the quest or the experience of new adventures? Such a Ulysses is the Ulysses of Dante. Such a Ulysses is the Ulysses of Tennyson. Such a Ulysses, we might almost say, is the Robinson Crusoe of Defoe. Virgil believed that the long and toilsome journey in search of his home, as undertaken by a hero of the Trojan war, and diversified by a variety of novel and surprising adventures, had, for one century after another, enlisted the admiration and passionate interest of the Greeks for a man of their own race. Was he wrong in supposing that a similar framework of story for the first six books of his epic would enlist the admiration and passionate interest of the Romans for Æneas?

Did not he assume "that incidents of a certain class *must* awaken keen interest; that sentiments of a certain kind *must* raise melting passions; that language of a certain strain, and an action with certain qualifications, *must* render a poem attractive and effective"? And was not his assumption warranted by the result? If "Addison's criticism rests on certain conventions," so also does Virgil's Æneid, and so, we might add, does Arnold's Sohrab and Rustum.

Certain 'conventions,' to call them by that name, are as immutable as human nature itself, or at all events as human nature a few degrees removed from ursine or lupine savagery. It is a 'convention,' if one chooses, that parents love their children, that murder and theft are wrong, and even, as some philosophers argue, that two and two make four. There may be a universe, say these originals, in which two and two make five. And so there may be a universe where parents naturally hate their children, and where murder and theft entitle their perpetrator to rank high in the catalogue of saints, or what, in the Ultima Thule of some telescopic galaxy, correspond to the saints of this our pendent world and all too-limited vision. In like manner, there may be a universe in which the sorrows of an Œdipus or a Lear are not affecting, or are even a proper subject for mirth and ridicule, — only, if there be, let us pray that we may never enter it.

If, then, Addison is at fault, it is not in postulating certain conventions, warranted to hold good only for our universe, or, if any one prefers, for our civilization; it is in his failure to persuade us that his conventions are just, or that he has properly applied them to Milton's poem. Has he succeeded in doing so, the incidents that theoretically *must* interest *will* interest, the sentiments that *must* move *will* move, and the poem that *must* be attractive and effective *will* be attractive and effective — provided only that the reader be qualified to perform his share in the creation of the poem.

The savage of Borneo is as yet unfitted to co-operate with the genius of Raphael, and hence will remain unmoved by the Madonna di San Sisto; the Patagonian has not yet made an abstraction of womanly beauty and dignity from the person of his lovely mate, and is therefore unprepared for their embodiment or suggestive adumbration in the Aphrodite of Melos; there are undoubtedly germs of musical faculty in persons who are still entranced by the simple melody of Yankee Doodle, and who are far from comprehending the ravishing divisions of a Mozart or a Rossini, to say nothing of a Beethoven or a Wagner. Give these potential amateurs time. Give them the opportunity of self-development, of eliciting and realizing what is latent and obscure within their souls, and they will perchance respond to the touch of the divinest artists. But in the meantime we should do ill to constitute them the judges of pictorial, sculptural, and musical art, and Matthew Arnold would be the last to contend that they have an inherent and indefeasible right to that station and that office.

And does Arnold, then, ignore that the faculties by which we are enabled to enjoy and comprehend literature are rudimentary in most men, and highly developed only in the few? Does he, who is continually recalling to us, in all their native deformity, the characters of the Philistine and the Barbarian, to say nothing of the Populace, suppose that the average man is fitted to pronounce with certitude and authority upon Paradise Lost, or the Iliad, or the Divine Comedy, or even that he is at once capable of being affected by them with high pleasure? If so, why is he at so much pains to instruct the average man — for it surely is not for the superior minds, for the 'remnant,' that he writes — why is he at so much pains to instruct the average man in his duty with reference to things æsthetic? Why does he attempt to teach the average man how he should feel as well as what he should think, and exalt such thinking and feeling far

above any form of activity in which his unwilling pupil is at present engaged?

Yet in the essay from which we have quoted he for once treats the average man to assurances of his distinguished consideration. For what else is the meaning of his sentence, "The right thing, surely, is for such a work to prove its own virtue by powerfully and delightfully affecting us as we read it, and by remaining a constant source of elevation and happiness to us for ever"? 'Us' must mean 'us all,' and we are therefore bound to conclude that, for the nonce at least, Arnold would credit us, and each of us — Barbarians, Philistines, and Populace though we be — with an æsthetic capacity which enables us to dispense at need with the assistance of the commentator and the intervention of the critic. It must be the right thing, then, for the Divine Comedy to prove its own virtue by powerfully and delightfully affecting us as we read it. Does it? Does the Agamemnon of Æschylus? Does the Fourth Pythian? Or the Book of Ezekiel? Or any other long poem or imaginative composition, sublime in conception, and dealing with events remote in time, not to say supernatural?

Moreover, the professional critic, the man who has cultivated his æsthetic capacity and judgment to the utmost, is to be reduced by this new doctrine to the stature of the 'modern reader.' Into the mouth of the 'modern reader' Arnold puts a question. "'Does the work which you praise,' he asks, 'affect me with high pleasure and do me good, when I try it as fairly as I can?' The critic who helps such a questioner is one who has sincerely asked himself, also, this same question; who has answered it in a way which agrees, in the main, with what the questioner finds to be his own honest experience in the matter, and who shows the reasons for the common experience." Has the 'modern reader' been repelled by Paradise Lost, or does he imagine that he has? The critic who is to help him must also have

been repelled, and must show the reasons for the repulsion — of course in such a way as to exculpate the 'modern reader' and himself. The teacher of Homer must proceed in the same way. If he finds that his students have been repelled by their first attempts to read the Iliad, he must also have been repelled, and tell why, else he is bound to vacate his post in favor of one more competent than himself. If he should chance always to have been a lover of Homer, woe for him, and woe for the class he misleads! On such terms, we can only wonder that Arnold kept his place as public teacher so long. And how different is the criterion of Addison himself as negatively expressed in his paper on The True Critic — though a criterion, indeed, to which Arnold's practice usually conforms: "One great mark by which you may discover a critic who has neither taste nor learning is this — that he seldom ventures to praise any passage in an author which has not been before received and applauded by the public." And the mere following of one's public is as emphatically condemned by a rising critic of our own day. The condemnation is in the form of a characterization of the 'worldly' reader by Brunetière, the critic to whom we refer ('L'Évolution des Genres,' p. 127): "We must add that, in general, for all kinds of reasons, these worldly judges have an instinctive horror of what is grave and serious. Art is only an amusement or a pastime for them; hence they judge of it accordingly, and, when they have said of a writer that he is tedious, they imagine they have said everything." To the same effect is another passage (p. 126): "No more in literature than elsewhere has the chance comer the right to pronounce upon the value of work done, nor, whatever any one may say about it, to judge of art without a long and laborious education of his taste. If aptitudes are not necessary, at least an apprenticeship is. . . . We are judges, the only judges there are, of our own pleasure, but we are not judges of the quality of our

pleasure; the authority which decides upon that lies outside of ourselves, since it was before us and will live after us."

"The Paradise Lost," says Arnold, "has not this effect certainly and universally," — that is, the effect of proving its own virtue by powerfully and delightfully affecting us as we read it, and by remaining a constant source of elevation and happiness to us for ever; — "therefore Addison proposes to 'set before an English reader, in its full beauty,' the great poem." For this, and for the manner in which he performed his task, Arnold censures him. In reply we would ask, What better object could Addison, in his capacity as critic, have proposed to himself? Who has written more effectively upon Milton than he, or, in the main, more truly? What more satisfactory piece of criticism upon Paradise Lost is there in existence to-day? Is it Arnold's? Is it Edmond Schérer's?

ADDISON'S CRITICISMS

ON

PARADISE LOST.

I.[1]

THE FABLE OR PLOT.[2]

Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii. — PROPERT. 2. 34. 95.[3]

Give place, ye Roman and ye Grecian wits.[4]

THERE is nothing in nature so irksome as[5] general discourses, especially when they turn chiefly upon words. For this reason I shall waive the discussion of that point which was started some years since, whether Milton's Paradise Lost may be called an heroic poem. Those who will not give it that title may call it, if they please, a divine poem. It will be sufficient to its perfection if it has in it all the beauties of the highest kind of poetry; and as for those who allege[6] it is not an heroic poem, they advance no more to the diminution of it than if they should say Adam is not Æneas, nor Eve, Helen.

[1] *Spectator*, No. 267, Jan. 5, 1712.

[2] These titles are not original, and are merely inserted for convenience.

[3] The references in the original editions are merely to the author in general.

[4] The translations of the mottoes are first added in the edition of 1744, and were therefore not inserted by Addison.

[5] First edition, 'more irksome than.' [6] First edition, 'say.'

I shall therefore examine it by the rules of epic poetry, and see whether it falls short of the Iliad or Æneid in the beauties which are essential to that kind of writing. The first thing to be considered in an epic poem is the fable, which is perfect or imperfect according as the action which it relates is more or less so. This action should have three qualifications in it. First, it should be but one action; secondly, it should be an entire action; and thirdly, it should be a great action. To consider the action of the Iliad, Æneid, and Paradise Lost, in these three several lights. Homer, to preserve the unity of his action, hastens into the midst of things, as Horace has observed. Had he gone up to Leda's egg, or begun much later, even at the rape of Helen, or the investing of Troy, it is manifest that the story of the poem would have been a series of several actions. He therefore opens his poem with the discord of his princes, and with great art[1] interweaves, in the several succeeding parts of it, an account of everything material[2] which relates to them,[3] and had passed before that fatal dissension. After the same manner Æneas makes his first appearance in the Tyrrhene seas, and within sight of Italy, because the action proposed to be celebrated was that of his settling himself in Latium. But because it was necessary for the reader to know what had happened to him in the taking of Troy, and in the preceding parts of his voyage, Virgil makes his hero relate it by way of episode in the Second and Third Books of the Æneid; the contents of both which books come before those of the First Book in the thread of the story, though, for preserving of this unity of action, they follow it in the disposition of the poem. Milton, in imitation of these two great poets, opens his

[1] For 'with great art' the first edition has 'artfully.'

[2] Added in second edition.

[3] For 'them' the first edition has 'the story.'

Paradise Lost with an infernal council plotting the Fall of Man, which is the action he proposed to celebrate; and as for those great actions which preceded in point of time, the battle of the angels and the creation of the world, which would have entirely destroyed the unity of the principal action had he related them in the same order that they happened, he cast them into the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Books, by way of episode to this noble poem.

Aristotle himself allows that Homer has nothing to boast of as to the unity of his fable, though at the same time that great critic and philosopher endeavors to palliate this imperfection in the Greek poet by imputing it in some measure to the very nature of an epic poem. Some have been of opinion that the Æneid also labors[1] in this particular, and has episodes which may be looked upon as excrescences rather than as parts of the action. On the contrary, the poem which we have now under our consideration hath no other episodes than such as naturally arise from the subject, and yet is filled with such a multitude of astonishing incidents[2] that it gives us at the same time a pleasure of the greatest variety and of the greatest simplicity; uniform in its nature, though diversified in the execution.[3]

I must observe also that as Virgil, in the poem which was designed to celebrate the original of the Roman empire, has described the birth of its great rival, the Carthaginian commonwealth, Milton, with the like art, in his poem on the Fall of Man, has related the fall of those angels who are his professed enemies. Besides the many other beauties in such an episode, its running parallel with the great action of the poem hinders it from break-

[1] For 'also labors' the first edition has 'labors also.'

[2] First edition, 'circumstances.'

[3] The clause, 'uniform . . . execution,' added in second edition.

ing the unity so much as another episode would have done, that had not so great an affinity with the principal subject. In short, this is the same kind of beauty which the critics admire in The Spanish Friar, or The Double Discovery, where the two different plots look like counterparts and copies of one another.

The second qualification required in the action of an epic poem is that it should be an entire action. An action is entire when it is complete in all its parts; or, as Aristotle describes it, when it consists of a beginning, a middle, and an end. Nothing should go before it, be intermixed with it, or follow after it, that is not related to it; as, on the contrary, no single step should be omitted in that just and regular process[1] which it must be supposed to take from its original to its consummation. Thus we see the anger of Achilles in its birth, its continuance, and effects; and Æneas' settlement in Italy carried on through all the oppositions in his way to it both by sea and land. The action in Milton excels, I think, both the former in this particular: we see it contrived in hell, executed upon earth, and punished by Heaven. The parts of it are told in the most distinct manner, and grow out of one another in the most natural order.[2]

The third qualification of an epic poem is its greatness. The anger of Achilles was of such consequence that it embroiled the kings of Greece, destroyed the heroes of Troy, and engaged all the gods in factions. Æneas' settlement in Italy produced the Cæsars, and gave birth to the Roman empire. Milton's subject was still greater than either of the former; it does not determine the fate of single persons or nations, but of a whole species. The united powers of hell are joined together for the destruction of mankind, which they effected in part, and

[1] First edition, 'progress.' [2] First edition, 'method.'

would have completed had not Omnipotence itself interposed. The principal actors are man in his greatest perfection and woman in her highest beauty. Their enemies are the fallen angels, the Messiah their friend, and the Almighty their protector. In short, every thing that is great in the whole circle of being, whether within the verge of nature or out of it, has a proper part assigned it in this noble poem.

In poetry, as in architecture, not only the whole, but the principal members, and every part of them, should be great. I will not presume to say that the Book of Games in the Æneid, or that in the Iliad, are not of this nature, nor to reprehend Virgil's simile of the top, and many other of the same kind[1] in the Iliad, as liable to any censure in this particular; but I think we may say, without derogating from[2] those wonderful performances, that there is an unquestionable magnificence in every part of Paradise Lost, and indeed a much greater than could have been formed upon any pagan system.

But Aristotle by the greatness of the action does not only mean that it should be great in its nature, but also in its duration, or in other words that it should have a due length in it, as well as what we properly call greatness. The just measure of this kind of magnitude he explains by the following similitude. An animal, no bigger than a mite, cannot appear perfect to the eye, because the sight takes it in at once, and has only a confused idea of the whole, and not a distinct idea of all its parts; if, on the contrary, you should suppose an animal of ten thousand furlongs in length, the eye would be so filled with a single part of it that it could not give the mind an idea of the whole. What these animals are to the eye, a

[1] First edition, 'nature.'

[2] For 'derogating from' the first edition has 'offense to.'

very short or a very long action would be to the memory. The first would be, as it were, lost and swallowed up by it, and the other difficult to be contained in it. Homer and Virgil have shown their principal art in this particular: the action of the Iliad and that of the Æneid were in themselves exceeding short, but are so beautifully extended and diversed by the invention[1] of episodes and the machinery of gods, with the like poetical ornaments, that they make up an agreeable story, sufficient to employ the memory without overcharging it. Milton's action is enriched with such variety of circumstances that I have taken as much pleasure in reading the contents of his books as in the best invented story I ever met with. It is possible that the traditions on which the Iliad and Æneid were built had more circumstances in them than the history of the Fall of Man, as it is related in Scripture. Besides, it was easier for Homer and Virgil to dash the truth with fiction, as they were in no danger of offending the religion of their country by it. But as for Milton, he had not only a very few circumstances upon which to raise his poem, but was also obliged to proceed with the greatest caution in everything that he added out of his own invention. And indeed, notwithstanding all the restraints he was under, he has filled his story with so many surprising incidents, which bear so close an analogy with what is delivered in Holy Writ, that it is capable of pleasing the most delicate reader, without giving offense to the most scrupulous.

The modern critics have collected, from several hints in the Iliad and Æneid, the space of time which is taken up by the action of each of those poems; but as a great part of Milton's story was transacted in regions that lie out of the reach of the sun and the sphere of day, it is

[1] First edition, 'intervention.'

impossible to gratify the reader with such a calculation, which indeed would be more curious than instructive; none of the critics, either ancient or modern, having laid down rules to circumscribe the action of an epic poem with any determined number of years, days, or hours.

This piece of criticism on Milton's Paradise Lost shall be carried on in the [1] following Saturdays' papers.

[1] First edition omits 'the' and 'Saturdays.'

2.[1]

THE CHARACTERS.

Notandi sunt tibi mores. — Hor. *Ars Poet.* 156.

Note well the manners.

HAVING examined the action of Paradise Lost, let us in the next place consider the actors. This is Aristotle's method of considering — first the fable, and secondly[2] the manners; or, as we generally call them in English, the fable and the characters.

Homer has excelled all the heroic poets that ever wrote in the multitude and variety of his characters. Every god that is admitted into this[3] poem acts a part which would have been suitable to no other deity. His princes are as much distinguished by their manners as by their dominions; and even those among them whose characters seem wholly made up of courage differ from one another as to the particular kinds of courage in which they excel. In short, there is scarce a speech or action in the Iliad which the reader may not ascribe to the person that speaks or acts, without seeing his name at the head of it.

Homer does not only outshine all other poets in the variety, but also in the novelty of his characters. He has introduced among his Grecian princes a person who had lived thrice the age of man, and conversed with The-

[1] *Spectator*, No. 273, Jan. 12, 1712.

[2] For 'This . . . secondly' the first edition has 'These are what Aristotle means by the fable and.'

[3] First edition, 'his' (Arber).

seus, Hercules, Polyphemus, and the first race of heroes. His principal actor is the son[1] of a goddess, not to mention the offspring of other deities who have[2] likewise a place in his poem, and the venerable Trojan prince who was the father of so many kings and heroes. There is in these several characters of Homer a certain dignity as well as novelty, which adapts them in a more peculiar manner to the nature of an heroic poem; though, at the same time, to give them the greater variety, he has described a Vulcan that is a buffoon among his gods, and a Thersites among his mortals.

Virgil falls infinitely short of Homer in the characters of his poem, both as to their variety and novelty. Æneas is indeed a perfect character; but as for Achates, though he is styled the hero's friend, he does nothing in the whole poem which may deserve that title. Gyas, Mnestheus, Sergestus, and Cloanthus, are all of them men of the same stamp and character: —

Fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum.

There are, indeed, several natural incidents in the part of Ascanius, as that of Dido cannot be sufficiently admired. I do not see anything new or particular in Turnus. Pallas and Evander are remote[3] copies of Hector and Priam, as Lausus and Mezentius are almost parallels to Pallas and Evander. The characters of Nisus and Euryalus are beautiful, but common. We must not forget the parts of Sinon, Camilla, and some few others, which are fine improvements on the Greek poet.[4] In short, there is neither that variety nor novelty in the per-

[1] First edition, 'offspring.'

[2] First edition for 'offspring . . . have' has 'son of Aurora who has.'

[3] 'Remote' added in second edition.

[4] 'We . . . poet' added in second edition.

sons of the Æneid which we meet with in those of the Iliad.

If we look into the characters of Milton we shall find that he has introduced all the variety his fable[1] was capable of receiving. The whole species of mankind was in two persons at the time to which the subject of his poem is confined. We have, however, four distinct characters in these two persons. We see man and woman in the highest innocence and perfection, and in the most abject state of guilt and infirmity. The two last characters are, indeed, very common and obvious; but the two first are not only more magnificent, but more new than any characters either in Virgil or Homer, or indeed in the whole circle of nature.

Milton was so sensible of this defect in the subject of his poem, and of the few characters it would afford him, that he has brought into it two actors of a shadowy and fictitious nature, in the persons of Sin and Death, by which means he has wrought into[2] the body of his fable a very beautiful and well-invented allegory. But notwithstanding the fineness of this allegory may atone for it in some measure, I cannot think that persons of such a chimerical existence are proper actors in an epic poem; because there is not that measure of probability annexed to them which is requisite in writings of this kind, as I shall show more at large hereafter.[3]

Virgil has indeed admitted Fame as an actress in the Æneid; but the part she acts is very short, and none of the most admired circumstances in that divine work. We find in mock-heroic poems, particularly in the Dispensary and the Lutrin, several allegorical persons of this nature, which are very beautiful in those compositions,

[1] For 'his fable' the first edition has 'that his poem.'

[2] For 'wrought into' the first edition has 'interwoven in.'

[3] 'As . . . hereafter' added in second edition.

and may perhaps be used as an argument that the authors of them were of opinion such[1] characters might have a place in an epic work. For my own part I should be glad the reader would think so, for the sake of the poem I am now examining; and must further add, that if such empty unsubstantial beings may be ever made use of on this occasion, never were[2] any more nicely imagined, and employed in more proper actions, than those of which I am now speaking.

Another principal actor in this poem is the great enemy of mankind. The part of Ulysses in Homer's Odyssey is very much admired by Aristotle, as perplexing that fable with very agreeable plots and intricacies, not only by the many adventures in his voyage, and the subtilty of his behavior, but by the various concealments and discoveries of his person in several parts of that poem. But the crafty being I have now mentioned makes a much longer voyage than Ulysses, puts in practice many more wiles and stratagems, and hides himself under a greater variety of shapes and appearances, all of which are severally detected, to the great delight and surprise of the reader.

We may likewise observe with how much art the poet has varied several characters of the persons that speak to[3] his infernal assembly. On the contrary, how has he represented the whole Godhead exerting itself towards man in its full benevolence, under the threefold distinction of a Creator, a Redeemer, and a Comforter!

Nor must we omit the person of Raphael, who, amidst his tenderness and friendship for man, shows such a dignity and condescension in all his speech and behavior as are suitable to a superior nature. The angels are indeed as much diversified in Milton, and distinguished by their

[1] First edition, 'that such.'

[2] For 'never were' the first edition has 'there were never.'

[3] First edition, 'in' (Arber).

proper parts, as the gods are in Homer or Virgil. The reader will find nothing ascribed to Uriel, Gabriel, Michael, or Raphael, which is not in a particular manner suitable to their respective characters.[1]

There is another circumstance in the principal actors of the Iliad and Æneid which gives a peculiar[2] beauty to those two poems, and was therefore contrived with very great judgment: I mean, the authors' having chosen for their heroes persons who were so nearly related to the people for whom they wrote. Achilles was a Greek, and Æneas the remote founder of Rome. By this means their countrymen, whom they principally proposed to themselves for their readers, were particularly attentive to all the parts of their story, and sympathized with their heroes in all their adventures. A Roman could not but rejoice in the escapes, successes, and victories of Æneas, and be grieved at any defeats, misfortunes, or disappointments that befell him; as a Greek must have had the same regard for Achilles. And it is plain that each of those poems have lost this great advantage among those readers to whom their heroes are as strangers or indifferent persons.

Milton's poem is admirable in this respect, since it is impossible for any of its readers, whatever nation, country, or people he may belong to, not to be related to the persons who are the principal actors in it; but what is still infinitely more to its advantage, the principal actors in this poem are not only our progenitors, but our representatives. We have an actual interest in everything they do, and no less than our utmost happiness[3] is concerned and lies at stake in all their behavior.

I shall subjoin, as a corollary to the foregoing remark,

[1] The two last sentences were added in the second edition.

[2] First edition, 'particular.'

[3] First edition adds 'or misery' (Arber).

an admirable observation out of Aristotle, which hath been very much misrepresented in the quotations of some modern critics: "If a man of perfect and consummate virtue falls into a misfortune, it raises our pity, but not our terror, because we do not fear that it may be our own case, who do not resemble the suffering person." But, as that great philosopher adds, "If we see a man of virtue mixed with infirmities fall into any misfortune, it does not only raise our pity, but our terror; because we are afraid that the like misfortune may happen to ourselves, who resemble the character of the suffering person."

I shall take another opportunity to observe that a person of an absolute and consummate virtue should never be introduced in tragedy, and shall only remark in this place that the foregoing[1] observation of Aristotle, though it may be true in other occasions, does not hold in this; because in the present case, though the persons who fall into misfortune are of the most perfect and consummate virtue, it is not to be considered as what may possibly be, but what actually is our own case, since we are embarked with them on the same bottom, and must be partakers of their happiness or misery.

In this, and some other very few instances, Aristotle's rules for epic poetry, which he had drawn from his reflections upon Homer, cannot be supposed to quadrate exactly with the heroic poems which have been made since his time; since[2] it is plain his rules would still have been[3] more perfect could he have perused the *Æneid*, which was made some hundred years after his death.

In my next I shall go through other parts of Milton's poem; and hope that what I shall there advance, as well as what I have already written, will not only serve as a comment upon Milton, but upon Aristotle.

[1] For 'the foregoing' the first edition has 'this' (Arber).
[2] First edition, 'as' (Arber). [3] First edition, 'have been still.'

3.[1]

THE SENTIMENTS.

Reddere personæ scit convenientia cuique. — HOR. *Ars Poet.* 316.

He knows what best befits each character.

WE have already taken a general survey of the fable and characters in Milton's Paradise Lost. The parts which remain to be considered, according to Aristotle's method, are the sentiments and the language. Before I enter upon the first of these, I must advertise my reader that it is my design, as soon as I have finished my general reflections on these four several heads, to give particular instances out of the poem which is now before us of beauties and imperfections which may be observed under each of them, as also of such other particulars as may not properly fall under any of them. This I thought fit to premise, that the reader may not judge too hastily of this piece of criticism, or look upon it as imperfect, before he has seen the whole extent of it.

The sentiments in an[2] epic poem are the thoughts and behavior which the author ascribes to the persons whom he introduces, and are just when they are conformable to the characters of the several persons. The sentiments have likewise a relation to things as well as persons, and are then perfect when they are such as are adapted to the subject. If in either of these cases the poet endeav-

[1] *Spectator*, No. 279, Jan. 19, 1712.
[2] Second edition, 'all' (Arber).

ers to argue or explain, to magnify or diminish, to raise[1] love or hatred, pity or terror, or any other passion, we ought to consider whether the sentiments he makes use of are proper for those[2] ends. Homer is censured by the critics for his defect as to this particular in several parts of the Iliad and Odyssey, though at the same time those who have treated this great poet with candor have attributed this defect to the times in which he lived. It was the fault of the age, and not of Homer, if there wants that delicacy in some of his sentiments which now appears in the works of men of a much inferior genius. Besides, if there are blemishes in any particular thoughts, there is an infinite beauty in the greatest part of them. In short, if there are many poets who would not have fallen into the meanness of some of his sentiments, there are none who could have risen up to the greatness of others. Virgil has excelled all others in the propriety of his sentiments. Milton shines likewise very much in this particular; nor must we omit one consideration which adds to his honor and reputation. Homer and Virgil introduced persons whose characters are commonly known among men, and such as are to be met with either in history or in ordinary conversation. Milton's characters, most of them, lie out of nature, and were to be formed purely by his own invention. It shows a greater genius in Shakespeare to have drawn his Caliban than his Hotspur or Julius Cæsar; the one was to be supplied out of his own imagination, whereas the other might have been formed upon tradition, history, and observation. It was much easier therefore for Homer to find proper sentiments for an assembly of Grecian generals than for Milton to diversify his infernal

[1] For 'endeavors . . . raise,' the first edition has, 'argues or explains, magnifies or diminishes, raises.'

[2] First edition, 'these'; second edition, 'their' (Arber), 'those' (Morley).

council with proper characters and inspire them with a variety of sentiments. The loves[1] of Dido and Æneas are only copies of what has passed between other persons. Adam and Eve, before the Fall, are a different species from that of mankind, who are descended from them; and none but a poet of the most unbounded invention and the most exquisite judgment could have filled their conversation and behavior with so many apt[2] circumstances during their state of innocence.

Nor is it sufficient for an epic poem to be filled with such thoughts as are natural, unless it abound also with such as are sublime. Virgil in this particular falls short of Homer. He has not, indeed, so many thoughts that are low and vulgar, but at the same time has not so many thoughts that are sublime and noble. The truth of it is, Virgil seldom rises into very astonishing sentiments where he is not fired by the Iliad. He everywhere charms and pleases us by the force of his own genius, but seldom elevates and transports us where he does not fetch his hints from Homer.

Milton's chief talent, and indeed his distinguishing excellence, lies in the sublimity of his thoughts. There are others of the moderns who rival him in every other part of poetry; but in the greatness of his sentiments he triumphs over all the poets, both modern and ancient, Homer only excepted. It is impossible for the imagination of man to distend itself with greater ideas than those which he has laid together in his First, Second,[3] and Sixth Books.[4] The Seventh, which describes the creation of the world, is likewise wonderfully sublime, though not so apt to stir up emotion in the mind of the reader, nor consequently so perfect in the epic way of writing, be-

[1] Morley, 'lovers.'

[2] For 'so many apt,' the first edition has 'such beautiful.'

[3] Added in the second edition. [4] First edition, 'Book.'

cause it is filled with less action. Let the judicious reader compare what Longinus has observed on several passages in Homer, and he will find parallels for most of them in the Paradise Lost.

From what has been said we may infer that, as there are two kinds of sentiments, the natural and the sublime, which are always to be pursued in an heroic poem, there are also two kinds of thoughts which are carefully to be avoided. The first are such as are affected and unnatural; the second, such as are mean and vulgar. As for the first kind of thoughts, we meet with little or nothing that is like them in Virgil. He has none of those trifling[1] points and puerilities that are so often to be met with in Ovid, none of the epigrammatic turns of Lucan, none of those swelling sentiments which are so frequently[2] in Statius and Claudian, none of those mixed embellishments of Tasso. Everything is just and natural. His sentiments show that he had a perfect insight into human nature, and that he knew everything which was the most proper to affect it.[3]

Mr. Dryden has, in some places which I may hereafter take notice of, misrepresented Virgil's way of thinking as to this particular, in the translation he has given us of the Æneid. I do not remember that Homer anywhere falls into the faults above mentioned, which were indeed the false refinements of later ages. Milton, it must be

[1] First edition, 'little.' [2] First edition, 'frequent.'

[3] At this point the first edition adds, 'I remember but one line in him which has been objected against by the critics as a point of wit. It is in his Ninth Book, where Juno, speaking of the Trojans, how they survived the ruins of their city, expresses herself in the following words: —

Nam rapti potuere capi, nam incensa cremarunt
Pergama?

Were the Trojans taken even after they were captives, or did Troy burn even when it was in flames?'

confessed, has sometimes erred in this respect, as I shall show more at large in another paper; though considering how all the poets of the age in which he writ were infected with this wrong way of thinking, he is rather to be admired that he did not give more in to it than that he did sometimes comply with the [1] vicious taste which still [2] prevails so much among modern writers.

But since several thoughts may be natural which are low and groveling, an epic poet should not only avoid such sentiments as are unnatural or affected, but also such as are mean [3] and vulgar. Homer has opened a great field of raillery to men of more delicacy than greatness of genius by the homeliness of some of his sentiments. But, as I have before said, these are rather to be imputed to the simplicity of the age in which he lived, to which I may also add, of that which he described, than to any imperfection in that divine poet. Zoilus among the ancients, and Monsieur Perrault among the moderns, pushed their ridicule very far upon him on account of some such sentiments. There is no blemish to be observed in Virgil under this head, and but [4] a very few in Milton.

I shall give but one instance of this impropriety of thought [5] in Homer, and at the same time compare it with an instance of the same nature both in Virgil and Milton. Sentiments which raise laughter can very seldom be admitted with any decency into an heroic poem, whose business it [6] is to excite passions of a much nobler nature. Homer, however, in his characters of

[1] First edition, 'that' (Arber).
[2] First edition omits 'still' (Arber).
[3] First edition, 'low.'
[4] First edition omits 'a.'
[5] First edition, 'sentiments.'
[6] Omitted in second edition Arber; not so Morley).

Vulcan and Thersites, in his story of Mars and Venus, in his behavior of Irus, and in other passages, has been observed to have lapsed into the burlesque character, and to have departed from that serious air which seems essential to the magnificence of an epic poem. I remember but one laugh in the whole Æneid, which rises in the Fifth Book upon Menœtes, where he is represented as thrown overboard, and drying himself upon a rock. But this piece of mirth is so well-timed that the severest critic can have nothing to say against it; for it is in the book of games and diversions, where the reader's mind may be supposed to be sufficiently relaxed for such an entertainment. The only piece of pleasantry in Paradise Lost is where the evil spirits are described as rallying the angels upon the success of their new-invented artillery. This passage I look upon to be the most exceptionable[1] in the whole poem, as being nothing else but a string of puns, and those, too, very indifferent ones: —

[2] Satan beheld their plight,
And to his mates thus in derision called: —
'O friends, why come not on these victors proud?
Erewhile they fierce were coming; and, when we,
To entertain them fair with open *front*
And breast (what could we more?), propounded terms
Of composition, straight they changed their minds,
Flew off, and into strange vagaries fell.
As they would dance. Yet for a dance they seemed
Somewhat extravagant and wild; perhaps
For joy of offered peace. But I suppose,
If our proposals once again were *heard*,
We should compel them to a quick *result*.'
To whom thus Belial, in like gamesome mood: —
'Leader, the terms we sent were terms of *weight*,

[1] For 'most exceptionable' the first edition has 'silliest.'
[2] 6. 607–629.

Of *hard contents*, and full of force urged home,
Such as we might perceive amused them all,
And *stumbled* many. Who receives them right
Had need from head to foot well *understand;*
Not *understood*, this gift they have besides —
They show us when our foes *walk not upright.*'
So they among themselves in pleasant vein
Stood scoffing.

4.[1]

THE LANGUAGE.

Ne quicunque deus, quicunque adhibebitur heros,
Regali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro,
Migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas:
Aut, dum vitat humum, nubes et inania captet.

— Hor. *Ars Poet.* 227–230.

But then they did not wrong themselves so much,
To make a god, a hero, or a king,
Stript of his golden crown and purple robe,
Descend to a mechanic dialect;
Nor, to avoid such meanness, soaring high,
With empty sound and airy notions fly. — Roscommon.

HAVING already treated of the fable, the characters, and sentiments in the Paradise Lost, we are in the last place to consider the language; and as the learned world is very much divided upon Milton as to this point, I hope they will excuse me if I appear particular in any of my opinions, and incline to those who judge the most advantageously of the author.

It is requisite that the language of an heroic poem should be both perspicuous and sublime. In proportion as either of these two qualities are wanting, the language is imperfect. Perspicuity is the first and most necessary qualification; insomuch that a good-natured reader sometimes overlooks a little slip, even in the grammar or syntax, where it is impossible for him to mistake the poet's

[1] *Spectator*, No. 285, Jan. 26, 1712.

sense. Of this kind is that passage in Milton wherein he speaks of Satan : —

> [1] God and his Son except,
> Created thing naught valued he nor shunned ;

and that in which he describes Adam and Eve : —

> [2] Adam the goodliest man of men since born
> His sons ; the fairest of her daughters Eve.

It is plain that in the former of these passages, according to the natural syntax, the Divine Persons mentioned in the first line are represented as created beings, and that in the other Adam and Eve are confounded with their sons and daughters. Such little blemishes as these, when the thought is great and natural, we should, with Horace, impute to a pardonable inadvertency, or to the weakness of human nature, which cannot attend to each minute particular, and give the last finishing to every circumstance, in so long a work. The ancient critics, therefore, who were acted[3] by a spirit of candor rather than that of cavilling, invented certain figures of speech on purpose to palliate little errors of this nature in the writings of those authors who had so many greater beauties to atone for them.

If clearness and perspicuity were only to be consulted, the poet would have nothing else to do but to clothe his thoughts in the most plain and natural expressions. But since it often happens that the most obvious phrases, and those which are used in ordinary conversation, become too familiar to the ear, and contract a kind of meanness by passing through the mouths of the vulgar, a poet should take particular care to guard himself against idiomatic ways of speaking. Ovid and Lucan have many poornesses of expression upon this

[1] 2. 678–679. [2] 4. 323–324. [3] So both Morley and Arber.

account, as taking up with the first phrases that offered, without putting themselves to the trouble of looking after such as would not only have been natural, but also elevated and sublime. Milton has but few failings in this kind, of which, however, you may meet with some instances, as[1] in the following passages: —

[2] Embryos and idiots, eremites and friars,
White, *black*, and *grey*, with all their *trumpery*.
Here pilgrims roam.

A while discourse they hold —
[3] *No fear lest dinner cool* — when thus began
Our Author.

[4] Who of all ages to succeed, but, feeling
The evil on him brought by me, will curse
My head? 'Ill fare our Ancestor impure,
For this we may thank Adam.'

The great masters in composition know very well that many an elegant phrase becomes improper for a poet or an orator when it has been debased by common use. For this reason, the works of ancient authors, which are written in dead languages, have a great advantage over those which are written in languages that are now spoken. Were there any mean phrases or idioms in Virgil and Homer, they would not shock the ear of the most delicate modern reader so much as they would have done that of an old Greek or Roman, because we never hear them pronounced in our streets or in ordinary conversation.

It is not therefore sufficient that the language of an epic poem be perspicuous, unless it be also sublime. To this end it ought to deviate from the common forms and ordinary phrases of speech. The judgment of a poet

[1] For 'meet . . . as' the first edition has 'see an instance or two.'
[2] 3. 474–476. [3] 5. 395–397. [4] 10. 733–736.

very much discovers itself in shunning the common roads of expression, without falling into such ways of speech as may seem stiff and unnatural; he must not swell into a false sublime by endeavoring to avoid the other extreme. Among the Greeks Æschylus, and sometimes Sophocles, were guilty of this fault; among the Latins, Claudian and Statius; and among our own countrymen, Shakespeare and Lee. In these authors the affectation of greatness often hurts the perspicuity of the style, as in many others the endeavor after perspicuity prejudices its greatness.

Aristotle has observed that the idiomatic style may be avoided, and the sublime formed, by the following methods. First, by the use of metaphors; such are those of Milton[1]: —

> [2] *Imparadised* in one another's arms.
>
> [3] And in his hand a reed
> Stood waving *tipt* with fire.
>
> [4] The grassy clods now *calved*.
>
> [5] *Spangled* with eyes.

In these and innumerable[6] other instances, the metaphors are very bold, but just.[7] I must, however, observe that the metaphors are not[8] so thick-sown in Milton, which always savors too much of wit; that they never clash with one another, which, as Aristotle observes, turns a sentence into a kind of an enigma or riddle; and that he seldom has recourse to them where the proper and natural words will do as well.

[1] For 'such . . . Milton' the first edition has 'like those of Milton' (Arber), 'like those in Milton' (Morley).

[2] 4. 506. [3] 6. 579–580. [4] 7. 463.

[5] 11. 130. This quotation added in the second edition.

[6] First edition, 'several' (Arber).

[7] First edition, 'beautiful' (Arber).

[8] 'So' added in second edition.

Another way of raising the language, and giving it a poetical turn, is to make use of the idioms of other tongues. Virgil is full of the Greek forms of speech, which the critics call Hellenisms, as Horace in his Odes abounds with them much more than Virgil. I need not mention the several dialects which Homer has made use of for this end. Milton, in conformity with the practice of the ancient poets and with Aristotle's rule, has infused a great many Latinisms, as well as Grecisms, and sometimes Hebraisms,[1] into the language of his poem; as, towards the beginning of it: —

> [2] *Nor* did they *not* perceive the evil plight
> In which they were, *or* the fierce pains *not* feel;
> Yet to their General's voice they soon obeyed.[3]
>
> [4] Who shall tempt with wandering feet
> The dark, unbottomed, infinite Abyss,
> And through the *palpable obscure* find out[5]
> His uncouth way, or spread his aery flight,
> Upborne with indefatigable wings
> Over the *vast Abrupt?*
>
> [6] So both ascend
> In the visions of God.

Under this head may be reckoned the placing the adjective after the substantive, the transposition of words, the turning the adjective into a substantive, with several other foreign modes of speech which this poet has naturalized, to give his verse the greater sound, and throw it out of prose.

The third method mentioned by Aristotle is what[7] agrees with the genius of the Greek language more than

[1] 'And sometimes Hebraisms' added in second edition (Arber).
[2] 1. 335–337.
[3] This line added in second edition.
[4] 2. 404–409.
[5] Arber adds 'his way' (first ed.).
[6] 11. 376. This quotation added in second edition.
[7] First edition, 'that which' (Arber).

THE MASTER'S COLLEGE
POWELL LIBRARY

with that of any other tongue, and is therefore more used by Homer than by any other poet. I mean the lengthening of a phrase by the addition of words which may either be inserted or omitted, as also by the extending or contracting of particular words by the insertion or omission of certain syllables. Milton has put in practice this method of raising his language, as far as the nature of our tongue will permit, as, in the passage above mentioned, 'eremite,' for[1] what is 'hermit' in common discourse. If you observe the measure of his verse, he has with great judgment suppressed a syllable in several words, and shortened those of two syllables into one; by which method, besides the above-mentioned advantage, he has given a greater variety to his numbers. But this practice is more particularly remarkable in the names of persons and of countries, as Beëlzebub, Hesebon,[2] and in many other particulars, wherein he has either changed the name, or made use of that which is not the most commonly known, that he might the better deviate from the language of the vulgar.

The same reason recommended to him several old words, which also makes his poem appear the more venerable, and gives it a greater air of antiquity.

I must likewise take notice that there are in Milton several words of his own coining, as 'Cerberean,' 'miscreated,' 'hell-doomed,' 'embryon' atoms, and many others. If the reader is offended at this liberty in our English poet, I would recommend him to a discourse in Plutarch, which shows us how frequently Homer has made use of the same liberty.

Milton, by the above-mentioned helps, and by the choice of the noblest words and phrases which our tongue would afford him, has carried our language to a greater

[1] Added in second edition. [2] Editions, 'Hessebon.'

height than any of the English poets have ever done before or after him, and made the sublimity of his style equal to that of his sentiments.

I have been the more particular in these observations on Milton's style, because it is that part of him in which he appears the most singular. The remarks I have here made upon the practice of other poets, with my observations out of Aristotle, will perhaps alleviate the prejudice which some have taken to his poem upon this account; though, after all, I must confess that I think his style, though admirable in general, is in some places too much stiffened and obscured by the frequent use of those methods which Aristotle has prescribed for the raising of it.

This redundancy of those several ways of speech which Aristotle calls 'foreign language,' and with which Milton has so very much enriched, and in some places darkened, the language of his poem, was[1] the more proper for his use because his poem is written in blank verse. Rime, without any other assistance, throws the language off from prose, and very often makes an indifferent phrase pass unregarded; but where the verse is not built upon rimes, there pomp of sound and energy of expression are indispensably necessary to support the style, and keep it from falling into the flatness of prose.

Those who have not a taste for this elevation of style, and are apt to ridicule a poet when he departs from the common forms of expression, would do well to see how Aristotle has treated an ancient author, called Euclid, for his insipid mirth upon this occasion. Mr. Dryden used to call these[2] sort of men his prose-critics.

I should, under this head of the language, consider Milton's numbers, in which he has made use of several

[1] First edition, 'is' (Arber).
[2] First edition, 'this.'

elisions which[3] are not customary among other English poets, as may be particularly observed in his cutting off the letter 'y' when it precedes a vowel. This, and some other innovations in the measure of his verse, has varied his numbers in such a manner as makes them incapable of satiating the ear and cloying the reader, which the same uniform measure would certainly have done, and which the perpetual returns of rime never fail to do in long narrative poems. I shall close these reflections upon the language of Paradise Lost with observing that Milton has copied after Homer rather than Virgil in the length of his periods, the copiousness of his phrases, and the running of his verses into one another.

[1] First edition, 'that' (Arber).

5.[1]

THE TRUE CRITIC.

Ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura. — HOR. *Ars Poet.* 351–353.

> But in a poem elegantly writ,
> I will not quarrel with a slight mistake,
> Such as our nature's frailty may excuse. — ROSCOMMON.

I HAVE now considered Milton's Paradise Lost under those four great heads of the fable, the characters, the sentiments, and the language, and have shown that he excels in general under each of these heads. I hope that I have made several discoveries which[2] may appear new, even to those who are versed in critical learning. Were I indeed to choose my readers, by whose judgment I would stand or fall, they should not be such as are acquainted only with the French and Italian critics, but also with the ancient and moderns who have written in either of the learned languages. Above all, I would have them well versed in the Greek and Latin poets, without which a man very often fancies that he understands a critic, when in reality he does not comprehend his meaning.

It is in criticism as in all other sciences and speculations: one who brings with him any implicit notions and observations which he has made in his reading of the poets, will find his own reflections methodized and

[1] *Spectator*, No. 291, Feb. 2, 1712.
[2] First edition, 'that' (Arber).

explained, and perhaps several little hints that had passed in his mind perfected and improved, in the works of a good critic; whereas one who has not these previous lights is very often an utter stranger to what he reads, and apt to put a wrong interpretation upon it.

Nor is it sufficient that a man who sets up for a judge in criticism should have perused the authors above-mentioned, unless he has also a clear and logical head. Without this talent he is perpetually puzzled and perplexed amidst his own blunders, mistakes the sense of those he would confute, or, if he chances to think right, does not know how to convey his thoughts to another with clearness and perspicuity. Aristotle, who was the best critic, was also one of the best logicians that ever appeared in the world.

Mr. Locke's Essay on Human Understanding would be thought a very odd book for a man to make himself master of who would get a reputation by critical writings; though, at the same time, it is very certain that an author who has not learned the art of distinguishing between words and things, and of ranging his thoughts and setting them in proper lights, whatever notions he may have, will lose himself in confusion and obscurity. I might further observe that there is not a Greek or Latin critic who has not shown, even in the style of his criticisms, that he was a master of all the elegance and delicacy of his native tongue.

The truth of it is, there is nothing more absurd than for a man to set up for a critic without a good insight into all the parts of learning; whereas many of those who have endeavored to signalize themselves by works of this nature, among our English writers, are not only defective in the above-mentioned particulars, but plainly discover by the phrases which they make use of, and by their confused way of thinking, that they are

not acquainted with the most common and ordinary systems of arts and sciences. A few general rules extracted out of the French authors, with a certain cant of words, has sometimes set up an illiterate heavy writer for a most judicious and formidable critic.

One great mark by which you may discover a critic who has neither taste nor learning is this — that he seldom ventures to praise any passage in an author which has not been before received and applauded by the public, and that his criticism turns wholly upon little faults and errors. This part of a critic is so very easy to succeed in, that we find every ordinary reader upon the publishing of a new poem has wit and ill-nature enough to turn several passages of it into ridicule, and very often in the right place. This Mr. Dryden has very agreeably remarked in those two celebrated lines: —

> Errors, like straws, upon the surface flow;
> He who would search for pearls must dive below.

A true critic ought to dwell rather upon excellencies than imperfections, to discover the concealed beauties of a writer, and communicate to the world such things as are worth their observation. The most exquisite words and finest strokes of an author are those which very often appear the most doubtful and exceptionable to a man who wants a relish for polite learning; and they are these which a sour, undistinguishing critic generally attacks with the greatest violence. Tully observes that it is very easy to brand or fix a mark upon what he calls *verbum ardens*, or, as it may be rendered into English, 'a glowing bold expression,' and to turn it into ridicule by a cold, ill-natured criticism. A little wit is equally capable of exposing a beauty and of aggravating a fault; and though such a treatment of an author naturally produces indignation in the mind of an

LOS ANGELES PACIFIC COLLEGE
LIBRARY

understanding reader, it has, however, its effect among the generality of those whose hands it falls into, the rabble of mankind being very apt to think that everything which is laughed at with any mixture of wit is ridiculous in itself.

Such a mirth as this is always unseasonable in a critic, as it rather prejudices the reader than convinces him, and is capable of making a beauty, as well as a blemish, the subject of derision. A man who cannot write with wit on a proper subject is dull and stupid; but one who shows it in an improper place is as impertinent and absurd. Besides, a man who has the gift of ridicule is[1] apt to find fault with anything that gives him an opportunity of exerting his beloved talent, and very often censures a passage, not because there is any fault in it, but because he can be merry upon it. Such kinds of pleasantry are very unfair and disingenuous in works of criticism, in which the greatest masters, both ancient and modern, have always appeared with a serious and instructive air.

As I intend in my next paper to show the defects in Milton's Paradise Lost, I thought fit to premise these few particulars, to the end that the reader may know I enter upon it as on a very ungrateful work, and that I shall just point at the imperfections without endeavoring to inflame them with ridicule. I must also observe, with Longinus, that the productions of a great genius with many lapses and inadvertencies are infinitely preferable to the works of an inferior kind of author which are scrupulously exact and conformable to all the rules of correct writing.

I shall conclude my paper with a story out of Boccalini, which sufficiently shows us the opinion that judicious author entertained of the sort of critics I have been here mentioning. A famous critic, says he, having gathered

[1] First edition, 'is very' (Arber).

together all the faults of an eminent poet, made a present of them to Apollo, who received them very graciously, and resolved to make the author a suitable return for the trouble he had been at in collecting them. In order to this, he set before him a sack of wheat as it had been just threshed out of the sheaf. He then bid him pick out the chaff from among the corn, and lay it aside by itself. The critic applied himself to the task with great industry and pleasure, and, after having made the due separation, was presented by Apollo with the chaff for his pains.

6.[1]

DEFECTS OF THE POEM.

Velut si
Egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore nævos. — HOR. *Sat.* I. 6. 66.

As perfect beauties often have a mole. — CREECH.

AFTER what I have said in my last Saturday's paper, I shall enter on the subject of this without further preface, and remark the several defects which appear in the fable, the characters, the sentiments, and the language of Milton's Paradise Lost; not doubting but the reader will pardon me, if I allege at the same time whatever may be said for the extenuation of such defects.

The first imperfection which I shall observe in the fable is that the event of it is unhappy.

The fable of every poem is, according to Aristotle's division, either simple or implex. It is called simple when there is no change of fortune in it; implex, when the fortune of the chief actor changes from bad to good, or from good to bad. The implex fable is thought the most perfect; I suppose because it is more proper to stir up the passions of the reader, and to surprise him with a greater variety of accidents.

The implex fable is therefore of two kinds: in the first, the chief actor makes his way through a long series of dangers and difficulties, till he arrives at honor and pros-

[1] *Spectator*, No. 297, Feb. 9, 1712.

perity, as we see in the story of Ulysses;[1] in the second, the chief actor in the poem falls from some eminent pitch of honor and prosperity into misery and disgrace. Thus we see Adam and Eve sinking from a state of innocence and happiness into the most abject condition of sin and sorrow.

The most taking tragedies among the ancients were built on this last sort of implex fable, particularly the tragedy of Œdipus, which proceeds upon a story, if we may believe Aristotle, the most proper for tragedy that could be invented by the wit of man. I have taken some pains in a former paper to show that this kind of implex fable, wherein the event is unhappy, is more apt to affect an audience than that of the first kind; notwithstanding many excellent pieces among the ancients, as well as most of those which have been written of late years in our own country, are raised upon contrary plans. I must, however, own that I think this kind of fable, which is the most perfect in tragedy, is not so proper for an heroic poem.

Milton seems to have been sensible of this imperfection in his fable, and has therefore endeavored to cure it by several expedients, particularly by the mortification which the great adversary of mankind meets with upon his return to the assembly of infernal spirits, as it is described in a[2] beautiful passage of the Tenth Book; and likewise by the vision wherein Adam, at the close of the poem, sees his offspring triumphing over his great enemy, and himself restored to a happier Paradise than that from which he fell.

There is another objection against Milton's fable,

[1] For 'story of Ulysses,' the first edition has 'stories of Achilles, Ulysses, and Æneas' (Morley), 'stories of Ulysses and Æneas' (Arber).

[2] First edition, 'that.'

which is indeed almost the same with the former, though placed in a different light, namely, that the hero in the Paradise Lost is unsuccessful, and by no means a match for his enemies. This gave occasion to Mr. Dryden's reflection, that the devil was in reality Milton's hero. I think I have obviated this objection in my first paper. The Paradise Lost is an epic, or a[1] narrative poem, and[2] he that looks for a hero in it searches for that which Milton never intended; but[3] if he will needs fix the name of an hero upon any person in it, it is certainly the Messiah who is the hero, both in the principal action and in the chief episodes.[4] Paganism could not furnish out a real action for a fable greater than that of the Iliad or Æneid, and therefore an heathen could not form a higher notion of a poem than one of that kind which they call an heroic. Whether Milton's is not of a sublimer[5] nature I will not presume to determine; it is sufficient that I show there is in the Paradise Lost all the greatness of plan, regularity of design, and masterly beauties which we discover in Homer and Virgil.

I must, in the next place, observe that Milton has interwoven in the texture of his fable some particulars which do not seem to have probability enough for an epic poem, particularly in the actions which he ascribes to Sin and Death, and the picture which he draws of the Limbo of Vanity, with other passages in the Second Book. Such allegories rather savor of the spirit of Spenser and Ariosto than of Homer and Virgil.

In the structure of his poem he has likewise admitted of too many digressions. It is finely observed by Aristotle

[1] 'Or a' added in second edition.
[2] Added in second edition.
[3] First edition, 'or' (Morley), 'but' (Arber).
[4] For 'chief episodes,' the first edition has 'episode.'
[5] First edition, 'greater.'

that the author of an heroic poem should seldom speak himself, but throw as much of his work as he can into the mouths of those who are his principal actors. Aristotle has given no reason for this precept; but I presume it is because the mind of the reader is more awed and elevated when he hears Æneas or Achilles speak, than when Virgil or Homer talk in their own persons. Besides that assuming the character of an eminent man is apt to fire the imagination and raise the ideas of an author. Tully tells us, mentioning his Dialogue of Old Age, in which Cato is the chief speaker, that upon a review of it he was agreeably imposed upon, and fancied that it was Cato, and not he himself, who uttered his thoughts on that subject.

If the reader would be at the pains to see how the story of the Iliad and the Æneid is delivered by those persons who act in it, he will be surprised to find how little in either of these poems proceeds from the authors. Milton has, in the general disposition of his fable, very finely observed this great rule; insomuch that there is scarce a third part of it which comes from the poet; the rest is spoken either by Adam and Eve, or by some good or evil spirit who is engaged either in their destruction or defense.

From what has been here observed it appears that digressions are by no means to be allowed of in an epic poem. If the poet, even in the ordinary course of his narration, should speak as little as possible, he should certainly never let his narration sleep for the sake of any reflections of his own. I have often observed with a secret admiration, that the longest reflection in the Æneid is in that passage of the Tenth Book where Turnus is represented as dressing himself in the spoils of Pallas, whom he had slain. Virgil here lets his fable stand still for the sake of the following remark: 'How is the mind of man ignorant of futurity, and unable to bear

prosperous fortune with moderation! The time will come when Turnus shall wish that he had left the body of Pallas untouched, and curse the day on which he dressed himself in these spoils.' As the great event of the Æneid, and the death of Turnus, whom Æneas slew because he saw him adorned with the spoils of Pallas, turns upon this incident, Virgil went out of his way to make this reflection upon it, without which so small a circumstance might possibly have slipped out of his reader's memory. Lucan, who was an injudicious poet, lets drop his story very frequently for the sake of his[1] unnecessary digressions, or his *diverticula*, as Scaliger calls them. If he gives us an account of the prodigies which preceded the civil war, he declaims upon the occasion, and shows how much happier it would be for man if he did not feel his evil fortune before it comes to pass; and suffer not only by its real weight, but by the apprehension of it. Milton's complaint for[2] his blindness, his panegyric on marriage, his reflections on Adam and Eve's going naked, of the angels' eating, and several other passages in his poem, are liable to the same exception, though I must confess there is so great a beauty in these very digressions that I would not wish them out of his poem.

I have in a former paper spoken of the characters of Milton's Paradise Lost, and declared my opinion as to the allegorical persons who are introduced in it.

If we look into the sentiments, I think they are sometimes defective under the following heads: first, as there are several[3] of them too much pointed, and some that degenerate even into puns. Of this last kind I am afraid is that in the First Book, where, speaking of the pygmies, he calls them

[1] Added in second edition (Arber).
[2] First edition, 'of.'
[3] First edition, 'some' (Arber).

[1] That[2] small *infantry*
Warred on by cranes.

Another blemish that[3] appears in some of his thoughts is his frequent allusion to heathen fables, which are not certainly of a piece with the divine subject of which he treats. I do not find fault with these allusions where the poet himself represents them as fabulous, as he does in some places, but where he mentions them as truths and matters of fact. The limits of my paper will not give me leave to be particular in instances of this kind; the reader will easily remark them in his perusal of the poem.

A third fault in his sentiments is an unnecessary ostentation of learning, which likewise occurs very frequently. It is certain that both Homer and Virgil were masters of all the learning of their times, but it shows itself in their works after an indirect and concealed manner. Milton seems ambitious of letting us know, by his excursions on free-will and predestination, and his many glances upon history, astronomy, geography, and the like, as well as by the terms and phrases he sometimes makes use of, that he was acquainted with the whole circle of arts and sciences.

If, in the last place, we consider the language of this great poet, we must allow what I have hinted in a former paper, that it is often[4] too much labored, and sometimes obscured by old words, transpositions, and foreign idioms. Seneca's objection to the style of a great author, '*Riget ejus oratio, nihil in ea placidum, nihil lene*,' is what many critics make to Milton. As I cannot wholly refute it, so I have already apologized for it in another paper; to which I may further add, that Milton's sentiments and

[1] I. 575–576. [2] The editions have 'the.'
[3] First edition, 'which' (Morley), 'that' (Arber).
[4] Added in second edition (Arber).

ideas were so wonderfully sublime, that it would have been impossible for him to have represented them in their full strength and beauty, without having recourse to these foreign assistances. Our language sank under him, and was unequal to that greatness of soul which furnished him with such glorious conceptions.

A second fault in his language is, that he often affects a kind of jingle in his words, as in the following passages and many others: —

[1] And brought into this [2] *World* a *world* of woe.

[3] Begirt the Almighty Throne
Beseeching or *besieging*.

[4] This *tempted* our *attempt*.

[5] At one slight *bound* high overleaped all *bound*.

I know there are figures for this kind of speech, that some of the greatest ancients have been guilty of it, and that Aristotle himself has given it a place in his Rhetoric among the beauties of that art. But as it is in itself poor and trifling, it is, I think, at present universally exploded by all the masters of polite writing.

The last fault which I shall take notice of in Milton's style is the frequent use of what the learned call technical words, or terms of art. It is one of the great beauties of poetry to make hard things intelligible, and to deliver what is abstruse of [6] itself in such easy language as may be understood by ordinary readers; besides that the knowledge of a poet should rather seem born with him, or inspired, than drawn from books and systems. I have

[1] 9. 11.
[2] The editions have 'the.'
[3] 5. 868–869.
[4] 1. 642.
[5] 4. 181.
[6] First edition, 'in' (Morley), 'of' (Arber).

often wondered how Mr. Dryden could translate a passage out of Virgil after the following manner: —

> Tack to the larboard and stand off to sea,
> Veer starboard sea and land.

Milton makes use of 'larboard' in the same manner. When he is upon building, he mentions 'Doric pillars,' 'pilasters,' 'cornice,' 'frieze,' 'architrave.' When he talks of heavenly bodies, you meet with 'ecliptic' and 'eccentric,' 'the trepidation,' 'stars dropping from the zenith,' 'rays culminating from the equator': to which might be added many instances of the like kind in several other arts and sciences.

I shall in my next papers[1] give an account of the many particular beauties in Milton which would have been too long to insert under those general heads I have already treated of, and with which I intend to conclude this piece of criticism.

[1] First edition, 'Saturday's paper.'

7.[1]

BOOK I.

Volet hæc sub luce videri,
Judicis argutum quæ non formidat acumen.
— Hor. *Ars Poet.* 363–364.

Some choose the clearest light,
And boldly challenge the most piercing eye. — Roscommon.

I HAVE seen in the works of a modern philosopher a map of the spots in the sun. My last paper of the faults and blemishes in Milton's Paradise Lost may be considered as a piece of the same nature. To pursue the allusion: As it is observed that among the bright parts of the luminous body above-mentioned there are some which glow more intensely and dart a stronger light than others; so, notwithstanding I have already shown Milton's poem to be very beautiful in general, I shall now proceed to take notice of such beauties as appear to me more exquisite than the rest. Milton has proposed the subject of his poem in the following verses: —

[2] Of Man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste
Brought death into the World, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, till one greater Man
Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,
Sing, Heavenly Muse!

[1] *Spectator*, No. 303, Feb. 16, 1712.
[2] 1. 1–6.

These lines are perhaps as plain, simple, and unadorned as any of the whole poem, in which particular the author has conformed himself to the example of Homer and the precept of Horace.

His invocation to a work which turns in a great measure upon the creation of the world is very properly made to the Muse who inspired Moses in those books from whence our author drew his subject, and to the Holy Spirit, who is therein represented as operating after a particular manner in the first production of nature. This whole exordium rises very happily into noble language and sentiment, as I think the transition to the fable is exquisitely beautiful and natural.

The nine days' astonishment in which the angels lay entranced after their dreadful overthrow and fall from heaven, before they could recover either the use of thought or speech, is a noble circumstance, and very finely imagined. The division of hell into seas of fire, and into firm ground impregnated with the same furious element, with that particular circumstance of the exclusion of Hope from those infernal regions, are instances of the same great and fruitful invention.

The thoughts in the first speech and description of Satan, who is one of the principal actors in this poem, are wonderfully proper to give us a full idea of him. His pride, envy, and revenge, obstinacy, despair, and impenitence, are all of them very artfully interwoven. In short, his first speech is a complication of all those passions which discover themselves separately in several other of his speeches in the poem. The whole part of this great enemy of mankind is filled with such incidents as are very apt to raise and terrify the reader's imagination. Of this nature, in the Book now before us, is his being the first that awakens out of the general trance, with his posture on the burning lake, his rising from it, and the description of his shield and spear: —

[1] Thus Satan, talking to his nearest mate,
With head uplift above the wave, and eyes
That sparkling blazed; his other parts besides[2]
Prone on the flood, extended long and large,
Lay floating many a rood.

[3] Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
His mighty stature; on each hand the flames
Driven backward slope their pointing spires, and, rolled
In billows, leave i' the midst a horrid vale.
Then with expanded wings he steers his flight
Aloft, incumbent on the dusky air,
That felt unusual weight.

[4] His ponderous shield,
Ethereal temper, massy, large, and round,
Behind him cast. The broad circumference
Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb
Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
At evening, from the top of Fesolè,
Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
Rivers, or mountains, in her spotty globe.
His spear — to equal which the tallest pine
Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast
Of some great ammiral, were but a wand —
He walked with, to support uneasy steps
Over the burning marle.

To which we may add his call to the fallen angels that lay plunged and stupefied in the sea of fire : —

[5] He called so loud, that all the hollow deep
Of Hell resounded.

But there is no single passage in the whole poem worked up to a greater sublimity than that wherein his person is described in those celebrated lines : —

[1] I. 192–196.
[2] The editions have 'beside.'
[3] I. 221–227.
[4] I. 284–296.
[5] I. 314–315.

[1] He, above the rest
In shape and gesture proudly eminent,
Stood like a tower, etc.

His sentiments are every way answerable to his character, and [2] suitable to a created being of the most exalted and most depraved nature. Such is that in which he takes possession of his place of torments : —

[3] Hail, horrors! hail,
Infernal World! and thou, profoundest Hell,
Receive thy new possessor — one who brings
A mind not to be changed by place or time.

And afterwards : —

[4] Here at least
We shall be free; the Almighty hath not built
Here for his envy, will not drive us hence:
Here we may reign secure; and in my choice,
To reign is worth ambition, though in Hell:
Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven.

Amidst those impieties which this enraged spirit utters in other places of the poem, the author has taken care to introduce none that is not big with absurdity, and incapable of shocking a religious reader; his words, as the poet himself describes them, bearing only a 'semblance of worth, not substance.' He is likewise, with great art, described as owning his adversary to be almighty. Whatever perverse interpretation he puts on the justice, mercy, and other attributes of the Supreme Being, he frequently confesses His omnipotence, that being the perfection he was forced to allow Him, and the only consideration which could support his pride under the shame of his defeat.

Nor must I here omit that beautiful circumstance of his bursting out in tears upon his survey of those

[1] I. 589–591.
[2] First edition, 'and are' (Arber).
[3] I. 250–253.
[4] I. 258–263.

innumerable spirits whom he had involved in the same guilt and ruin with himself: —

[1] He now prepared
To speak; whereat their doubled ranks they bend
From wing to wing, and half enclose him round
With all his peers: Attention held them mute.
Thrice he assayed, and thrice, in spite of scorn,
Tears, such as Angels weep, burst forth.

The catalogue of evil spirits has abundance[2] of learning in it, and a very agreeable turn of poetry, which rises in a great measure from its[3] describing the places where they were worshipped by those beautiful marks of rivers so frequent among the ancient poets. The author has doubtless in this place Homer's catalogue of ships and Virgil's list of warriors in his view. The characters of Moloch and Belial prepare the reader's mind for their respective speeches and behavior in the Second and Sixth Book. The account of Thammuz is finely romantic, and suitable to what we read among the ancients of the worship which was paid to that idol: [4] —

[5] *Thammuz* came next behind,
Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured
The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a summer's day,
While smooth Adonis from his native rock
Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
Of Thammuz yearly wounded: the love-tale
Infected Sion's daughters with like heat,
Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch
Ezekiel saw, when, by the vision led,
His eyes surveyed the dark idolatries
Of alienated Judah.

[1] I. 615–620.

[2] First edition, 'great deal' (Arber). [3] First edition, 'his.'

[4] From this point to 'blood' (46 21) was first added, so far as is known, in the edition of the criticism as a separate publication, which appeared in 1719 (Arber). [5] I. 446–457.

The reader will pardon me if I insert, as a note on this beautiful passage, the account given us by the late ingenious Mr. Maundrell of this ancient piece of worship, and probably the first occasion of such a superstition. 'We came to a fair large river — doubtless the ancient river Adonis, so famous for the idolatrous rites performed here in lamentation of Adonis. We had the fortune to see what may be supposed to be the occasion of that opinion which Lucian relates concerning this river, viz.: that this stream, at certain seasons of the year, especially about the feast of Adonis, is of a bloody color; which the heathens looked upon as proceeding from a kind of sympathy in the river for the death of Adonis, who was killed by a wild boar in the mountains out of which this stream rises. Something like this we saw actually come to pass, for the water was stained to a surprising redness, and, as we observed in traveling, had discolored the sea a great way into a reddish hue, occasioned doubtless by a sort of minium, or red earth, washed into the river by the violence of the rain, and not by any stain from Adonis's blood.'

The passage in the catalogue, explaining the manner how spirits transform themselves by contraction[1] or enlargement of their dimensions, is introduced with great judgment, to make way for several surprising accidents in the sequel of the poem. There follows one at the very end of the First Book, which is what the French critics call marvelous, but at the same time probable by reason of the passage last mentioned. As soon as the infernal palace is finished, we are told the multitude and rabble of spirits immediately shrunk themselves into a small compass, that there might be room for such a numberless assembly in this capacious hall. But it is the

[1] Morley, 'contractions' (second edition?).

poet's refinement upon this thought which I most admire, and which is indeed very noble in itself. For he tells us that notwithstanding the vulgar among the fallen spirits contracted their forms, those of the first rank and dignity still preserved their natural dimensions: —

[1] Thus incorporeal Spirits to smallest forms
Reduced their shapes immense, and were at large,
Though without number still, amidst the hall
Of that infernal court. But far within,
And in their own dimensions like themselves,
The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim
In close recess and secret conclave sat,
A thousand demi-gods on golden seats,
Frequent and full.

The character of Mammon, and the description of the Pandemonium, are full of beauties.

There are several other strokes in the First Book wonderfully poetical, and instances of that sublime genius so peculiar to the author. Such is the description of Azazel's stature and the infernal standard which he unfurls; as also[2] of that ghastly light by which the fiends appear to one another in their place of torments: —

[3] The seat of desolation, void of light,
Save what the glimmering of these livid flames
Casts pale and dreadful.

The shout of the whole host of fallen angels when drawn up in battle array: —

[4] The universal host up-sent
A shout that tore Hell's concave, and beyond
Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.

[1] I. 789–797.
[2] For 'as also,' the first edition has 'and' (Arber).
[3] I. 181–183.
[4] I. 541–543.

The review which the leader makes of his infernal army : —

> [1] He through the armèd files
> Darts his experienced eye, and soon traverse
> The whole battalion views — their order due,
> Their visages and stature as of gods;
> Their number last he sums. And now his heart
> Distends with pride, and, hardening in his strength,
> Glories.

The flash of light which appeared upon the drawing of their swords : —

> [2] He spake; and, to confirm his words, out-flew
> Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs
> Of mighty Cherubim; the sudden blaze
> Far round illumined Hell.

The sudden production of the Pandemonium : —

> [3] Anon out of the earth a fabric huge
> Rose like an exhalation, with the sound
> Of dulcet symphonies and voices sweet.

The artificial illuminations made in it : —

> [4] From the archèd roof,
> Pendant by subtle magic, many a row
> Of starry lamps and blazing cressets fed
> With naphtha and asphaltus, yielded light
> As from a sky.

There are also several noble similes and allusions in the First Book of Paradise Lost. And here I must observe that when Milton alludes either to things or persons, he never quits his simile till it rises to some very great idea, which is often foreign to the occasion that[5] gave birth to it. The resemblance does not, perhaps,

[1] I. 567–573. [2] I. 663–666. [3] I. 710–712.
[4] I. 726–730. [5] First edition, 'which' (Arber).

last above a line or two; but the poet runs on with the hint till he has raised out of it some glorious image or sentiment, proper to inflame the mind of the reader, and to give it that sublime kind of entertainment which is suitable to the nature of an heroic poem. Those who are acquainted with Homer's and Virgil's way of writing cannot but be pleased with this kind of structure in Milton's similitudes. I am the more particular on this head because ignorant readers, who have formed their taste upon the quaint similes and little turns of wit which are so much in vogue among modern poets, cannot relish these beauties, which are of a much higher nature, and are therefore apt to censure Milton's comparisons, in which they do not see any surprising points of likeness. Monsieur Perrault was a man of this vitiated relish, and for that very reason has endeavored to turn into ridicule several of Homer's similitudes, which he calls '*comparaisons à longue queue*' — 'long-tailed comparisons.' I shall conclude this paper on the First Book of Milton with the answer which Monsieur Boileau makes to Perrault on this occasion: 'Comparisons,' says he, 'in odes and epic poems, are not introduced only to illustrate and embellish the discourse, but to amuse and relax the mind of the reader, by frequently disengaging him from too painful an attention to the principal subject, and by leading him into other agreeable images. Homer,' says he, 'excelled in this particular, whose comparisons abound with such images of nature as are proper to relieve and diversify his subjects. He continually instructs the reader, and makes him take notice, even in objects which are every day before his eyes, of such circumstances as we should not otherwise have observed.' To this he adds, as a maxim universally acknowledged, 'that it is not necessary in poetry for the points of the comparison to correspond with one another exactly, but that a general

resemblance is sufficient, and that too much nicety in this particular savors of the rhetorician and epigrammatist.'

In short, if we look into the conduct of Homer, Virgil, and Milton, as the great fable is the soul of each poem, so, to give their works an agreeable variety, their episodes are so many short fables, and their similes so many short episodes; to which you may add, if you please, that their metaphors are so many short similes. If the reader considers the comparisons in the First Book of Milton — of the sun in an eclipse, of the sleeping leviathan, of the bees swarming about their hive, of the fairy dance — in the view wherein I have here placed them, he will easily discover the great beauties that are in each of those passages.

8.[1]

BOOK II.

Dî, quibus imperium est animarum, Umbræque silentes,
Et Chaos, et Phlegethon, loca nocte silentia late!
Sit mihi fas audita loqui: sit numine vestro
Pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas.

— VIRG. *Æn.* 6. 264–267.

Ye realms, yet unrevealed to human sight!
Ye gods, who rule the regions of the night!
Ye gliding ghosts! permit me to relate
The mystic wonders of your silent state. — DRYDEN.

I HAVE before observed in general that the persons whom Milton introduces into his poem always discover such sentiments and behavior as are in a peculiar manner conformable to their respective characters. Every circumstance in their speeches and actions is, with great justice and delicacy, adapted to the persons who speak and act. As the poet very much excels in this consistency of his characters, I shall beg leave to consider several passages of the Second Book in this light. That superior greatness and mock-majesty which is ascribed to the prince of the fallen angels, is admirably preserved in the beginning of this book. His opening and closing the debate; his taking on himself that great enterprise, at the thought of which the whole infernal assembly trembled; his encountering the hideous phantom who guarded the gates of hell, and appeared to him in all his terrors — are

[1] *Spectator*, No. 309, Feb. 23, 1712.

instances of that proud and daring mind which could not brook submission, even to Omnipotence !

> [1] Satan was now at hand, and from his seat
> The monster moving onward came as fast,
> With horrid strides ; Hell trembled as he strode.
> The undaunted Fiend what this might be admired ;
> Admired, not feared.

The same boldness and intrepidity of behavior discovers itself in the several adventures which he meets with during his passage through the regions of unformed matter, and particularly in his address to those tremendous powers who are described as presiding over it.

The part of Moloch is likewise, in all its circumstances, full of that fire and fury which distinguish this spirit from the rest of the fallen angels. He is described in the First Book as besmeared with the blood of human sacrifices, and delighted with the tears of parents and the cries of children. In the Second Book he is marked out as the fiercest spirit that fought in heaven ; and if we consider the figure which he makes in the Sixth Book, where the battle of the angels is described, we find it every way answerable to the same furious, enraged character : —

> [2] Where the might of Gabriel fought,
> And with fierce ensigns pierced the deep array
> Of Moloch, furious king, who him defied,
> And at his chariot-wheels to drag him bound
> Threatened, nor from the Holy One of Heaven
> Refrained his tongue blasphémous, but anon,
> Down cloven to the waist, with shattered arms
> And uncouth pain fled bellowing.

It may be worth while to observe that Milton has represented this violent, impetuous spirit, who is hurried

[1] 2. 674–678. [2] 6. 355–362.

on by such precipitate passions, as the first that rises in the assembly to give his opinion upon their present posture of affairs. Accordingly he declares himself abruptly for war, and appears incensed at his companions for losing so much time as even to deliberate upon it. All his sentiments are rash, audacious, and desperate; such is that of arming themselves with tortures, and turning their punishments upon Him who inflicted them: —

> [1]No! let us rather choose,
> Armed with Hell-flames and fury, all at once
> O'er Heaven's high towers to force resistless way,
> Turning our tortures into horrid arms
> Against the Torturer; when, to meet the noise
> Of his almighty engine, he shall hear
> Infernal thunder, and, for lightning, see
> Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
> Among his Angels; and his throne itself
> Mixed with Tartarean sulphur and strange fire,
> His own invented torments.

His preferring annihilation to shame or misery is also highly suitable to his character, as the comfort he draws from their disturbing the peace of heaven, that if it be not victory it is revenge, is a sentiment truly diabolical, and becoming the bitterness of this implacable spirit.

Belial is described in the First Book as the idol of the lewd and luxurious. He is, in the Second Book, pursuant to that description, characterized as timorous and slothful; and if we look in[2] the Sixth Book, we find him celebrated in the battle of angels for nothing but that scoffing speech which he makes to Satan on their supposed advantage over the enemy. As his appearance is uniform and of a piece in these three several views, we find his sentiments in the infernal assembly every way conformable to his character: such are his apprehensions

[1] 2. 60–70. [2] First edition, 'into' (Arber).

of a second battle; his horrors of annihilation; his preferring to be miserable rather than not to be. I need not observe that the contrast of thought in this speech and that which precedes it gives an agreeable variety to the debate.

Mammon's character is so fully drawn in the First Book that the poet adds nothing to it in the Second. We were before told that he was the first who taught mankind to ransack the earth for gold and silver, and that he was the architect of Pandemonium, or the infernal palace[1] where the evil spirits were to meet in council. His speech in this book is every way[2] suitable to so depraved a character. How proper is that reflection of their being unable to taste the happiness of heaven were they actually there, in the mouth of one who, while he was in heaven, is said to have had his mind dazzled with the outward pomps and glories of the place, and to have been more intent on the riches of the pavement than on the beatific vision. I shall also leave the reader to judge how agreeable the following sentiments are to the same character: —

[3] This deep world
Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst
Thick clouds and dark doth Heaven's all-ruling Sire
Choose to reside, his glory unobscured,
And with the majesty of darkness round
Covers his throne, from whence deep thunders roar,
Mustering their rage, and Heaven resembles Hell!
As He our darkness, cannot we His light
Imitate when we please? This desert soil
Wants not her hidden lustre, gems and gold;
Nor want we skill or art from whence to raise
Magnificence; and what can Heaven show more?

[1] Morley, 'place' (*sic*).
[2] Second edition, 'where' (Arber, but not Morley).
[3] 2. 262–273.

Beëlzebub, who is reckoned the second in dignity that fell, and is, in the First Book, the second that awakens out of the trance, and confers with Satan upon the situation of their affairs, maintains his rank in the book now before us. There is a wonderful majesty described in his rising up to speak. He acts as a kind of moderator between the two opposite parties, and proposes a third undertaking, which the whole assembly gives in to. The motion he makes of detaching one of their body in search of a new world is grounded upon a project devised by Satan, and cursorily proposed by him in the following lines of the First Book: —

[1] Space may produce new Worlds; whereof so rife
There went a fame in Heaven that He ere long
Intended to create, and therein plant
A generation whom his choice regard
Should favor equal to the Sons of Heaven.
Thither, if but to pry, shall be perhaps
Our first eruption — thither, or elsewhere;
For this infernal pit shall never hold
Celestial Spirits in bondage, nor the abyss
Long under darkness cover. But these thoughts
Full counsel must mature.

It is on this project that Beëlzebub grounds his proposal: —

[2] What if we find
Some easier enterprise? There is a place
(If ancient and prophetic fame in heaven
Err not) — another World, the happy seat
Of some new race, called Man, about this time
To be created like to us, though less
In power and excellence, but favored more
Of Him who rules above; so was His will
Pronounced among the gods, and by an oath
That shook Heaven's whole circumference confirmed.

[1] 1. 650-660. [2] 2. 344-353.

The reader may observe how just it was not to omit in the First Book the project upon which the whole poem turns; as also that the prince of the fallen angels was the only proper person to give it birth, and that the next to him in dignity was the fittest to second and support it.

There is besides, I think, something wonderfully beautiful, and very apt to affect the reader's imagination, in this ancient prophecy or report in heaven concerning the creation of man. Nothing could show more the dignity of the species than this tradition which ran of them before their existence. They are represented to have been the talk of heaven before they were created. Virgil, in compliment to the Roman commonwealth, makes the heroes of it appear in their state of pre-existence; but Milton does a far greater honor to mankind in general, as he gives us a glimpse of them even before they are in being.

The rising of this great assembly is described in a very sublime and poetical manner: —

> [1] Their rising all at once was as the sound
> Of thunder heard remote.

The diversions of the fallen angels, with the particular account of their place of habitation, are described with great pregnancy of thought and copiousness of invention. The diversions are every way suitable to beings who had nothing left them but strength and knowledge misapplied. Such are their contentions at the race, and in feats of arms, with their entertainment in the following lines: —

> [2] Others, with vast Typhœan rage, more fell,
> Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air
> In whirlwind; Hell scarce holds the wild uproar.

Their music is employed in celebrating their own criminal exploits, and their discourse in sounding the

[1] 2. 476–477. [2] 2. 539–541.

unfathomable depths of fate, free-will, and fore-knowledge.

The several circumstances in the description of hell are[1] finely imagined: as the four rivers which disgorge themselves into the sea of fire, the extremes of cold and heat, and the river of oblivion. The monstrous animals produced in that infernal world are represented by a single line, which gives us a more horrid idea of them than a much longer description would have done: —

> [2] Nature breeds,
> Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
> Abominable, inutterable, and worse
> Than fables yet have feigned or fear conceived,
> Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimæras dire.

This episode of the fallen spirits and their place of habitation comes in very happily to unbend the mind of the reader from its attention to the debate. An ordinary poet would, indeed, have spun out so many circumstances to a great length, and by that means have weakened, instead of illustrated, the principal fable.

The flight of Satan to the gates of hell is finely imaged.

I have already declared my opinion of the allegory concerning Sin and Death, which is, however, a very finished piece in its kind, when it is not considered as a part of an epic poem. The genealogy of the several persons is contrived with great delicacy. Sin is the daughter of Satan, and Death the offspring of Sin. The incestuous mixture between Sin and Death produces those monsters and hell-hounds which from time to time enter into their mother, and tear the bowels of her who gave them birth.

These are the terrors of an evil conscience, and the proper fruits of Sin, which naturally rise from the appre-

[1] First edition, 'are very' (Arber). [2] 2. 624–628.

hensions of Death. This last beautiful moral is, I think, clearly intimated in the speech of Sin, where, complaining of this her dreadful issue, she adds—

[1] Before mine eyes in opposition sits
Grim Death, my son and foe, who sets them on,
And, me, his parent, would full soon devour
For want of other prey, but that he knows
His end with mine involved.

I need not mention to the reader the beautiful circumstance in the last part of this quotation. He will likewise observe how naturally the three persons concerned in this allegory are tempted by one common interest to enter into a confederacy together, and how properly Sin is made the portress of hell, and the only being that can open the gates to that world of tortures.

The descriptive part of this allegory is likewise very strong, and full of sublime ideas. The figure of Death, the regal crown upon his head,[2] his menace of Satan, his advancing to the combat, the outcry at his birth, are circumstances too noble to be passed over in silence, and extremely suitable to this king of terrors. I need not mention the justness of thought which is observed in the generation of these several symbolical persons: that Sin was produced upon the first revolt of Satan, that Death appeared soon after he was cast into hell, and that the terrors of conscience were conceived at the gate of this place of torments. The description of the gates is very poetical, as the opening of them is full of Milton's spirit: —

[3] On a sudden open fly,
With impetuous recoil and jarring sound,
The infernal doors, and on their hinges grate

[1] 2. 803–807.
[2] 'The regal . . . head' added in second edition.
[3] 2. 879–889.

Harsh thunder, that the lowest bottom shook
Of Erebus. She opened; but to shut
Excelled her power: the gates wide open stood,
That with extended wings a bannered host,
Under spread ensigns marching, might pass through
With horse and chariots ranked in loose array;
So wide they stood, and like a furnace mouth
Cast forth redounding smoke and ruddy flame.

In Satan's voyage through the chaos there are several imaginary persons described as residing in that immense waste of matter. This may, perhaps, be conformable to the taste of those critics who are pleased with nothing in a poet which has not life and manners ascribed to it; but for my own part, I am pleased most with those passages in this description which carry in them a greater measure of probability, and are such as might possibly have happened. Of this kind is his first mounting in the smoke that rises from the infernal pit, his falling into a cloud of nitre and the like combustible materials, that by their explosion still hurried him forward in his voyage; his springing 'upward like a pyramid of fire,' with his laborious passage through that confusion of elements which the poet calls

[1] The womb of Nature, and perhaps her grave.

The glimmering light which shot into the chaos from the utmost verge of the creation, with the distant discovery of the earth that hung close by the moon, are wonderfully beautiful and poetical.

[1] 2. 911.

9.[1]

BOOK III.

Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit. — HOR. *Ars Poet.* 191–192.

Never presume to make a god appear,
But for a business worthy of a god. — ROSCOMMON.

HORACE advises a poet to consider thoroughly the nature and force of his genius. Milton seems to have known perfectly well wherein his strength lay, and has therefore chosen a subject entirely conformable to those talents of which he was master. As his genius was wonderfully turned to the sublime, his subject is the noblest that could have entered into the thoughts of man. Everything that is truly great and astonishing has a place in it. The whole system of the intellectual world; the chaos and the creation; heaven, earth, and hell, enter into the constitution of his poem.

Having in the First and Second Books represented the infernal world with all its horrors, the thread of his fable naturally leads him into the opposite regions of bliss and glory.

If Milton's majesty forsakes him anywhere, it is in those parts of his poem where the Divine Persons are introduced as speakers. One may, I think, observe that the author proceeds with a kind of fear and trembling whilst he describes the sentiments of the Almighty. He dares not give his imagination its full play, but chooses to confine himself to such thoughts as are drawn from the books

[1] *Spectator*, No. 315, March 1, 1712.

of the most orthodox divines, and to such expressions as may be met with in Scripture. The beauties, therefore, which we are to look for in these speeches, are not of a poetical nature, nor so proper to fill the mind with sentiments of grandeur as with thoughts of devotion. The passions which they are designed to raise are a divine love and religious fear. The particular beauty of the speeches in the Third Book consists in that shortness and perspicuity of style in which the poet has couched the greatest mysteries of Christianity, and drawn together, in a regular scheme, the whole dispensation of Providence with respect to man. He has represented all the abstruse doctrines of predestination, free-will, and grace, as also the great points of incarnation and redemption, which naturally grow up in a poem that treats of the Fall of Man, with great energy of expression, and in a clearer and stronger light than I ever met with in any other writer. As these points are dry in themselves to the generality of readers, the concise and clear manner in which he has treated them is very much to be admired, as is likewise that particular art which he has made use of in the interspersing of all those graces of poetry which the subject was capable of receiving.

The survey of the whole creation, and of everything that is transacted in it, is a prospect worthy of Omniscience; and as much above that in which Virgil has drawn his Jupiter, as the Christian idea of the Supreme Being is more rational and sublime than that of the heathens. The particular objects on which He is described to have cast His eye are represented in the most beautiful and lively manner: —

[1] Now had the Almighty Father from above,
From the Pure Empyrean where He sits

[1] 3. 56–79.

High throned above all hight, bent down his eye,
His own works and their works at once to view:
About him all the Sanctities of Heaven
Stood thick as stars, and from his sight received
Beatitude past utterance; on his right
The radiant image of his glory sat,
His only Son. On Earth he first beheld
Our two first parents, yet the only two
Of mankind, in the Happy Garden placed,
Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love,
Uninterrupted joy, unrivalled love,
In blissful solitude. He then surveyed
Hell and the gulf between, and Satan there
Coasting the wall of Heaven on this side Night,
In the dun air sublime, and ready now
To stoop, with wearied wings and willing feet,
On the bare outside of this World, that seemed
Firm land imbosomed without firmament,
Uncertain which, in ocean or in air.
Him God beholding from his prospect high,
Wherein past, present, future, he beholds,
Thus to His only Son foreseeing spake.

Satan's approach to the confines of the creation is finely imaged in the beginning of the speech which immediately follows. [The effects of this speech in the blessed spirits, and in the Divine Person to whom it was addressed, cannot but fill the mind of the reader with a secret pleasure and complacency: —]

[1] Thus while God spake ambrosial fragrance filled
All Heaven, and in the blessed Spirits elect
Sense of new joy ineffable diffused.
Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
Most glorious; in him all his Father shone
Substantially expressed; and in his face
Divine compassion visibly appeared,
Love without end, and without measure grace.

[1] 3. 136–143.

I need not point out the beauty of that circumstance wherein the whole host of angels are represented as standing mute, nor show how proper the occasion was to produce such a silence in heaven. The close of this divine colloquy, with the hymn of angels that follows upon it, are so wonderfully beautiful and poetical, that I should not forbear inserting the whole passage, if the bounds of my paper would give me leave: —

> [1] No sooner had the Almighty ceased but — all
> The multitude of Angels, with a shout
> Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
> As from blest voices, uttering joy — Heaven rung
> With jubilee, and loud hosannas filled
> The eternal regions, etc. etc.

Satan's walk upon the outside of the universe, which at a distance appeared to him of a globular form, but upon his nearer approach looked like an unbounded plain, is natural and noble; as his roaming upon the frontiers of the creation, between that mass of matter which was wrought into a world and that shapeless, unformed heap of materials which still lay in chaos and confusion, strikes the imagination with something astonishingly great and wild. I have before spoken of the Limbo of Vanity, which the poet places upon this outermost surface of the universe, and shall here explain myself more at large on that and other parts of the poem, which are of the same shadowy nature.

Aristotle observes that the fable of an epic poem should abound in circumstances that are both credible and astonishing; or, as the French critics choose to phrase it, the fable should be filled with the probable and the marvelous. This rule is as fine and just as any in Aristotle's whole Art of Poetry.

[1] 3. 344–349.

If the fable is only probable, it differs nothing from a true history; if it is only marvelous, it is no better than a romance. The great secret, therefore, of heroic poetry is to relate such circumstances as may produce in the reader, at the same time, both belief and astonishment. This is brought to pass[1] in a well-chosen fable by the account of such things as have really happened, or, at least, of such things as have happened according to the received opinions of mankind. Milton's fable is a masterpiece of this nature: as the war in heaven, the condition of the fallen angels, the state of innocence, the temptation of the serpent, and the Fall of Man, though they are very astonishing in themselves, are not only credible, but actual points of faith.

The next method of reconciling miracles with credibility is by a happy invention of the poet; as, in particular, when he introduces agents of a superior nature, who are capable of effecting what is wonderful and what is not to be met with in the ordinary course of things. Ulysses' ship being turned into a rock, and Æneas' fleet into a shoal of water-nymphs, though they are very surprising accidents, are, nevertheless, probable, when we are told that they were the gods who thus transformed them. It is this kind of machinery which fills the poems both of Homer and Virgil with such circumstances as are wonderful, but not impossible, and so frequently produce in the reader the most pleasing passion that can rise in the mind of man, which is admiration. If there be any instance in the Æneid liable to exception upon this account, it is in the beginning of the Third Book, where Æneas is represented as tearing up the myrtle that dropped blood. To qualify this wonderful circumstance, Polydorus tells a story from the root of the myrtle, that the barbarous

[1] For 'is brought to pass,' the first edition has 'often happens' (Arber).

inhabitants of the country having pierced him with spears and arrows, the wood which was left in his body took root in his wounds and gave birth to that bleeding tree. This circumstance seems to have the marvelous without the probable, because it is represented as proceeding from natural causes, without the interposition of any god or other supernatural power capable of producing it. The spears and arrows grow of themselves, without so much as the modern help of an enchantment. If we look into the fiction of Milton's fable, though we find it full of surprising incidents, they are generally suited to our notions of the things and persons described, and tempered with a due measure of probability. I must only make an exception to the Limbo of Vanity, with his episode of Sin and Death, and some of the imaginary persons in his chaos. These passages are astonishing, but not credible; the reader cannot so far impose upon himself as to see a possibility in them; they are the description of dreams and shadows, not of things or persons. I know that many critics look upon the stories of Circe, Polypheme, the Sirens, nay, the whole Odyssey and Iliad, to be allegories; but, allowing this to be true, they are fables which, considering the opinions of mankind that prevailed in the age of the poet, might possibly have been according to the letter. The persons are such as might have acted what is ascribed to them, as the circumstances in which they are represented might possibly have been truths and realities. This appearance of probability is so absolutely requisite in the greater kinds of poetry, that Aristotle observes the ancient tragic writers made use of the names of such great men as had actually lived in the world, though the tragedy proceeded upon adventures they were never engaged in, on purpose to make the subject more credible. In a word, besides the hidden meaning of an epic allegory, the plain literal sense ought

to appear probable. The story should be such as an ordinary reader may acquiesce in, whatever natural, moral, or political truth may be discovered in it by men of greater penetration.

Satan, after having long wandered upon the surface or outmost wall of the universe, discovers at last a wide gap in it which led into the creation, and is[1] described as the opening through which the angels pass to and fro into the lower world upon their errands to mankind. His sitting upon the brink of this passage and taking a survey of the whole face of nature, that appeared to him new and fresh in all its beauties, with the simile illustrating this circumstance, fills the mind of the reader with as surprising and glorious an idea as any that arises in the whole poem. He looks down into that vast hollow of the universe with the eye, or, as Milton calls it in his First Book, with the ken, of an angel. He surveys all the wonders in this immense amphitheatre that lie between both the poles of heaven, and takes in, at one view, the whole round of the creation.

His flight between the several worlds that shined on every side of him, with the particular description of the sun, are set forth in all the wantonness of a luxuriant imagination. His shape, speech, and behavior, upon his transforming himself into an angel of light, are touched with exquisite beauty. The poet's thought of directing Satan to the sun, which in the vulgar opinion of mankind is the most conspicuous part of the creation, and the placing in it an angel, is a circumstance very finely contrived, and the more adjusted to a poetical probability as it was a received doctrine among the most famous philosophers that every orb had its intelligence, and as an apostle in Sacred Writ is said to have seen such

[1] First edition, 'which is' (Arber).

an angel in the sun. In the answer which this angel returns to the disguised evil spirit there is such a becoming majesty as is altogether suitable to a superior being. The part of it in which he represents himself as present at the creation is very noble in itself, and not only proper where it is introduced, but requisite to prepare the reader for what follows in the Seventh Book: —

> [1] I saw when, at his word, the formless mass,
> This World's material mould, came to a heap:
> Confusion heard his voice, and wild Uproar
> Stood ruled, stood vast Infinitude confined;
> Till, at his second bidding, Darkness fled,
> Light shone, etc.

In the following part of the speech he points out the earth with such circumstances that the reader can scarce forbear fancying himself employed on the same distant view of it: —

> [2] Look downward on that globe, whose hither side
> With light from hence, though but reflected, shines.
> That place is Earth, the seat of Man; that light
> His day, etc.

I must not conclude my reflections upon this Third Book of Paradise Lost, without taking notice of that celebrated complaint of Milton with which it opens, and which certainly deserves all the praises that have been given it; though, as I have before hinted, it may rather be looked upon as an excrescence than as an essential part of the poem. The same observation might be applied to that beautiful digression upon hypocrisy in the same Book.

[1] 3. 708–713.
[2] 3. 722–725.

10.[1]

BOOK IV.

Non satis est pulchra esse poemata, dulcia sunto.
— Hor. *Ars Poet.* 99.

'Tis not enough a poem's finely writ;
It must affect and captivate the soul.

THOSE who know how many volumes have been written on the poems of Homer and Virgil will easily pardon the length of my discourse upon Milton. The Paradise Lost is looked upon by the best judges as the greatest production, or at least the noblest work of genius, in our language, and therefore deserves to be set before an English reader in its full beauty. For this reason, though I have endeavored to give a general idea of its graces and imperfections in my six first papers, I thought myself obliged to bestow one upon every book in particular. The three first Books I have already despatched, and am now entering upon the Fourth. I need not acquaint my reader that there are multitudes of beauties in this great author, especially in the descriptive parts of his poem, which I have not touched upon; it being my intention to point out those only which appear to me the most exquisite, or those which are not so obvious to ordinary readers. Every one that has read the critics who have written upon the Odyssey, the Iliad, and the Æneid, knows very well that though they agree in their opinions of the great beauties

[1] *Spectator*, No. 321, March 8, 1712.

in those poems, they have nevertheless each of them discovered several master-strokes which have escaped the observation of the rest. In the same manner, I question not but any writer who shall treat of this subject after me may find several beauties in Milton which I have not taken notice of. I must likewise observe that as the greatest masters of critical learning differ among one another as to some particular points in an epic poem, I have not bound myself scrupulously to the rules which any one of them has laid down upon that art, but have taken the liberty sometimes to join with one, and sometimes with another, and sometimes to differ from all of them, when I have thought that the reason of the thing was on my side.

We may consider the beauties of the Fourth Book under three heads. In the first are those pictures of still-life which we meet with in the descriptions of Eden, Paradise, Adam's Bower, etc. In the next are the machines, which comprehend the speeches and behavior of the good and bad angels. In the last is the conduct of Adam and Eve, who are the principal actors in the poem.

In the description of Paradise, the poet has observed Aristotle's rule of lavishing all the ornaments of diction on the weak unactive parts of the fable, which are not supported by the beauty of sentiments and characters. Accordingly the reader may observe that the expressions are more florid and elaborate in these descriptions than in most other parts of the poem. I must further add that though the drawings of gardens, rivers, rainbows, and the like dead pieces of nature, are justly censured in an heroic poem when they run out into an unnecessary length, the description of Paradise would have been faulty had not the poet been very particular in it, not only as it is the scene of the principal action, but as it is requisite to give us an idea of that happiness from which our first parents

fell. The plan of it is wonderfully beautiful, and formed upon the short sketch which we have of it in Holy Writ. Milton's exuberance of imagination has poured forth such a redundancy of ornaments on this seat of happiness and innocence, that it would be endless to point out each particular.

I must not quit this head without further observing that there is scarce a speech of Adam or Eve in the whole poem, wherein the sentiments and allusions are not taken from this their delightful habitation. The reader, during their whole course of action, always finds himself in the walks of Paradise. In short, as the critics have remarked that in those poems wherein shepherds are actors the thoughts ought always to take a tincture from the woods, fields, and rivers, so we may observe that our first parents seldom lose sight of their happy station in anything they speak or do; and, if the reader will give me leave to use the expression, that their thoughts are always 'paradisiacal.'

We are in the next place to consider the machines of the Fourth Book. Satan being now within prospect of Eden, and looking round upon the glories of the creation, is filled with sentiments different from those which he discovered whilst he was in hell. The place inspires him with thoughts more adapted to it. He reflects upon the happy condition from which[1] he fell, and breaks forth into a speech that is softened with several transient touches of remorse and self-accusation. But at length he confirms himself in impenitence, and in his design of drawing man into his own state of guilt and misery. This conflict of passions is raised with a great deal of art, as the opening of his speech to the sun is very bold and noble: —

[1] First edition, 'whence' (Arber).

[1] O thou that, with surpassing glory crowned,
Look'st from thy sole dominion like the god
Of this new World — at whose sight all the stars
Hide their diminished heads — to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,
O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
That bring to my remembrance from what state
I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere.

This speech is, I think, the finest that is ascribed to Satan in the whole poem. The evil spirit afterwards proceeds to make his discoveries concerning our first parents, and to learn after what manner they may be best attacked. His bounding over the walls of Paradise; his sitting in the shape of a cormorant upon the tree of life, which stood in the centre of it and overtopped all the other trees of the garden; his alighting among the herd of animals, which are so beautifully represented as playing about Adam and Eve; together with his transforming himself into different shapes in order to hear their conversation, are circumstances that give an agreeable surprise to the reader, and are devised with great art to connect that series of adventures in which the poet has engaged this[2] artificer of fraud.

[3] The thought of Satan's transformation into a cormorant and placing himself on the tree of life, seems raised upon that passage in the Iliad where two deities are described as perching on the top of an oak in the shape of vultures.

His planting himself at the ear of Eve, under[4] the form[5] of a toad, in order to produce vain dreams and imaginations, is a circumstance of the same nature; as his starting up in his own form is wonderfully fine, both in the

[1] 4. 32–39.
[2] First edition, 'this great.'
[3] This whole paragraph added in the second edition (Arber).
[4] First edition, 'in' (Arber), 'under' (Morley).
[5] First edition, 'shape.'

literal description and in the moral which is concealed under it. His answer upon his being discovered and demanded to give an account of himself is[1] conformable to the pride and intrepidity of his character: —

[2] 'Know ye not, then,' said Satan, filled with scorn,
'Know ye not me? Ye knew me once no mate
For you, there sitting where you durst not soar!
Not to know me argues yourselves unknown,
The lowest of your throng.'

Zephon's rebuke, with the influence it had on Satan, is exquisitely graceful and moral. Satan is afterwards led away to Gabriel, the chief of the guardian angels who kept watch in Paradise. His disdainful behavior on this occasion is so remarkable a beauty that the most ordinary reader cannot but take notice of it. Gabriel's discovering his approach at a distance is drawn with great strength and liveliness of imagination: —

[3] O friends, I hear the tread of nimble feet
Hasting this way, and now by glimpse discern
Ithuriel and Zephon through the shade;
And with them comes a third, of regal port,
But faded splendor wan, who by his gait
And fierce demeanor seems the Prince of Hell —
Not likely to part hence without contest.
Stand firm, for in his look defiance lours.

The conference between Gabriel and Satan abounds with sentiments proper for the occasion, and suitable to the persons of the two speakers. Satan's clothing himself with terror when he prepares for the combat is truly sublime, and at least equal to Homer's description of Discord, celebrated by Longinus, or to that of Fame in Virgil, who are both represented with their feet standing upon the earth and their heads reaching above the clouds: —

[1] First edition, 'are.' [2] 4. 827–831. [3] 4. 866–873.

[1] While thus he spake, the angelic squadron bright
Turned fiery red, sharpening in moonèd horns
Their phalanx, and began to hem him round
With ported spears, etc.

[2] On the other side, Satan, alarmed,
Collecting all his might, dilated stood,
Like Teneriffe or Atlas, unremoved:
His stature reached the sky, and on his crest
Sat Horror plumed.

I must here take notice [3] that Milton is everywhere full of hints, and sometimes literal translations, taken from the greatest of the Greek and Latin poets. But this I may [4] reserve for a discourse by itself, because I would not break the thread of these speculations, that are designed for English readers, with such reflections as would be of no use but to the learned.

I must however, observe in this place that the breaking off the combat between Gabriel and Satan by the hanging out of the golden scales in heaven is a refinement upon Homer's thought, who tells us that before the battle between Hector and Achilles, Jupiter weighed the event of it in a pair of scales. The reader may see the whole passage in the Twenty-second [5] Iliad.

Virgil, before the last decisive combat, describes Jupiter in the same manner as weighing the fates of Turnus and Æneas. Milton, though he fetched this beautiful circumstance from the Iliad and Æneid, does not only insert it as a poetical embellishment, like the authors above-mentioned, but makes an artful use of it for the proper carrying on of his fable, and for the breaking off the combat between the two warriors, who were upon the

[1] 4. 977–980. [2] 4. 985–989.
[3] The first edition adds, 'by the way' (Morley, but not Arber).
[4] First edition, 'shall' (Arber).
[5] The editions have '22nd.'

point of engaging. To this we may further add that Milton is the more justified in this passage, as we find the same noble allegory in Holy Writ, where a wicked prince, some few hours before he was assaulted and slain, is said to have been 'weighed in the scales, and to have been found wanting.' [1]

I must here take notice, under the head of the machines, that Uriel's gliding down to the earth upon a sunbeam, with the poet's device to make him *descend*, as well in his return to the sun as in his coming from it, is a prettiness that might have been admired in a little fanciful poet, but seems below the genius of Milton. The description of the host of armed angels, walking their nightly round in Paradise, is of another spirit: —

> [2] So saying, on he led his radiant files,
> Dazzling the moon;

as that account of the hymns which our first parents used to hear them sing in these their midnight walks is altogether divine, and inexpressibly amusing to the imagination.

We are in the last place to consider the parts which Adam and Eve act in the Fourth Book. The description of them as they first appeared to Satan is exquisitely drawn, and sufficient to make the fallen angel gaze upon them with all that astonishment and those emotions of envy in which he is represented: —

> [3] Two of far nobler shape, erect and tall,
> Godlike erect, with native honor clad

[1] The last sentence, except the clause 'some . . . slain,' added in the second edition; this clause having been added subsequently, according to Arber (but not Morley).

[2] 4. 797–798.

[3] 4. 288–294.

In naked majesty, seemed lords of all,
And worthy seemed; for in their looks divine
The image of their glorious Maker shone,
Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure —
Severe, but in true filial freedom placed.[1]

[2] For contemplation he and valor formed,
For softness she and sweet attractive grace;
He for God only, she for God in him.
His fair large front and eye sublime declared
Absolute rule; and hyacinthine locks
Round from his parted forelock manly hung
Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad:
She, as a veil down to the[3] slender waist,
Her unadornèd golden tresses wore
Dishevelled, but in wanton ringlets waved.[1]

[4] So passed they naked on, nor shunned the sight
Of God or Angel; for they thought no ill:
So hand in hand they passed, the loveliest pair
That ever since in love's embraces met.

There is a fine spirit of poetry in the lines which follow, wherein they are described as sitting on a bed of flowers by the side of a fountain, amidst a mixed assembly of animals.

The speeches of these two first lovers flow equally from passion and sincerity. The professions they make to one another are full of warmth, but at the same time founded on truth. In a word, they are the gallantries of Paradise: —

[5] When Adam, first of men —[1]

[6] 'Sole partner and sole part of all these joys,
Dearer thyself than all.'[1]

[1] No break in the editions.
[2] 4. 297–306.
[3] The editions have 'her.'
[4] 4. 319–322.
[5] 4. 408.
[6] 4. 411–412.

[1] 'But let us ever praise him, and extol
His bounty, following our delightful task,
To prune these growing plants, and tend these flowers;
Which, were it toilsome, yet with thee were sweet.'
To whom thus Eve replied: — 'O thou for whom
And from whom I was formed flesh of thy flesh,
And without whom am to no end, my guide
And head! what thou hast said is just and right.
For we to him, indeed, all praises owe,
And daily thanks — I chiefly, who enjoy
So far the happier lot, enjoying thee
Pre-eminent by so much odds, while thou
Like consort to thyself canst nowhere find,' etc.

The remaining part of Eve's speech, in which she gives an account of herself upon her first creation, and the manner in which she was brought to Adam, is, I think, as beautiful a passage as any in Milton, or perhaps in any other poet whatsoever. These passages are all worked off with so much art that they are capable of pleasing the most delicate reader, without offending the most severe: —

[2] That day I oft remember when from sleep, etc.

A poet of less judgment and invention than this great author would have found it very difficult to have filled these[3] tender parts of the poem with sentiments proper for a state of innocence; to have described the warmth of love, and the professions of it, without artifice or hyperbole; to have made the man speak the most endearing things without descending from his natural dignity, and the woman receiving them without departing from the modesty of her character; in a word, to adjust the prerogatives of wisdom and beauty, and make each appear to the other in its proper force and loveliness. This mutual subordination of the two sexes is wonderfully

[1] 4. 436–448. [2] 4. 449. [3] First edition, 'those.'

kept up in the whole poem, as particularly in the speech of Eve I have before mentioned, and upon the conclusion of it in the following lines: —

[1] So spake our general mother, and, with eyes
Of conjugal attraction unreproved,
And meek surrender, half-embracing leaned
On our first father; half her swelling breast
Naked met his, under the flowing gold
Of her loose tresses hid. He, in delight
Both of her beauty and submissive charms,
Smiled with superior love.

The poet adds that the devil turned away with envy at the sight of so much happiness.

We have another view of our first parents in their evening discourses, which is full of pleasing images and sentiments suitable to their condition and characters. The speech of Eve, in particular, is dressed up in such a soft and natural turn of words and sentiments as cannot be sufficiently admired.

I shall close my reflections upon this book with observing the masterly transition which the poet makes to their evening worship, in the following lines: —

[2] Thus at their shady lodge arrived, both stood,
Both turned, and under open sky adored
The God that made both Sky, Air, Earth, and Heaven,
Which they beheld, the Moon's resplendent globe,
And starry Pole: — 'Thou also madest the Night,
Maker Omnipotent, and thou the Day,' etc.

Most of the modern heroic poets have imitated the ancients in beginning a speech without premising that the person said thus or thus; but as it is easy to imitate

[1] 4. 492–499. [2] 4. 720–725.

the ancients in the omission of two or three words, it requires judgment to do it in such a manner as they shall not be missed, and that the speech may begin naturally without them. There is a fine instance of this kind out of Homer, in the twenty-third chapter of Longinus.

II.[1]

BOOK V.

Major rerum mihi nascitur ordo. — VIRG. *Æn.* 7, 44.

A larger scene of action is displayed. — DRYDEN.

WE were told in the foregoing book how the evil spirit practised upon Eve as she lay asleep, in order to inspire her with thoughts of vanity, pride, and ambition. The author, who shows a wonderful art throughout his whole poem in preparing the reader for the several occurrences that arise in it, founds upon the above-mentioned circumstance the first part of the Fifth Book. Adam, upon his awaking, finds Eve still asleep, with an unusual discomposure in her looks. The posture in which he regards her is described with a tenderness not to be expressed,[2] as the whisper with which he awakens her is the softest that ever was conveyed to a lover's ear.

[3] His wonder was to find unwakened Eve,
With tresses discomposed, and glowing cheek,
As though unquiet rest. He, on his side
Leaning half raised, with looks of cordial love
Hung over her enamored, and beheld
Beauty which, whether waking or asleep,
Shot forth peculiar graces; then, with voice

[1] *Spectator*, No. 327, March 15, 1712.

[2] 'Not . . . expressed' added in second edition; 'wonderful' before 'tenderness,' first edition (Arber).

[3] 5. 9–30.

Mild as when Zephrus on Flora breathes,
Her hand soft touching, whispered thus: — 'Awake
My fairest, my espoused, my latest found,
Heaven's last best gift, my ever-new delight!
Awake! the morning shines, and the fresh field
Calls us; we lose the prime to mark how spring
Our tended plants, how blows the citron grove,
What drops the myrrh, and what the balmy reed,
How Nature paints her colors, how the bee
Sits on the bloom extracting liquid sweet.'
Such whispering waked her, but with startled eye
On Adam; whom embracing, thus she spake: —
'O sole in whom my thoughts find all repose,
My glory, my perfection! glad I see
Thy face, and morn returned.'

I cannot but take notice that Milton, in the[1] conferences between Adam and Eve, had his eye very frequently upon the book of Canticles, in which there is a noble spirit of Eastern poetry, and very often not unlike what we meet with in Homer, who is generally placed near the age of Solomon. I think there is no question but the poet in the preceding speech remembered those two passages which are spoken on the like occasion, and filled with the same pleasing images of nature.

'My beloved spake, and said unto me, Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away! for, lo! the winter is past, the rain is over and gone, the flowers appear on the earth, the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land. The fig-tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines, with the tender grape, give a good smell. Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away!

'Come, my beloved! let us go forth into the field, let us get up early to the vineyards, let us see if the vine

[1] First edition, 'his' (Arber).

flourish, whether the tender grape appear, and the pomegranates bud forth.'

His preferring the garden of Eden to that

> [1] Where the sapient king
> Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian spouse,

shows that the poet had this delightful scene in his mind.

Eve's dream is full of those high conceits engendering pride, which we are told the devil endeavored to instil into her. Of this kind is that part of it where she fancies herself awakened by Adam, in the following beautiful lines: —

> [2] 'Why sleep'st thou, Eve? Now is the pleasant time,
> The cool, the silent, save where silence yields
> To the night-warbling bird, that now awake
> Tunes sweetest his love-labored song; now reigns
> Full-orbed the moon, and, with more pleasing[3] light,
> Shadowy sets off the face of things — in vain,
> If none regard. Heaven wakes with all his eyes;
> Whom to behold but thee, Nature's desire,
> In whose sight all things joy, with ravishment
> Attracted by thy beauty still to gaze!'

An injudicious poet would have made Adam talk through the whole work in such sentiments as these[4]; but flattery and falsehood are not the courtship of Milton's Adam, and could not be heard by Eve in her state of innocence, excepting only in a dream produced on purpose to taint her imagination. Other vain sentiments of the same kind, in this relation of her dream, will be obvious to every reader. Though the catastrophe of the poem is finely presaged on this occasion, the particulars of it are so artfully shadowed that they do not anticipate the story which follows in the Ninth Book. I shall only

[1] 9. 442–443. [2] 5. 38–47.
[3] First edition, 'pleasant' (Morley), 'pleasing' (Arber).
[4] First edition, 'this' (Arber).

add that though the vision itself is founded upon truth, the circumstances of it are full of that wildness and inconsistency which are natural to a dream. Adam, conformable to his superior character for wisdom, instructs and comforts Eve upon this occasion: —

[1] So cheered he his fair spouse; and she was cheered,
But silently a gentle tear let fall
From either eye, and wiped them with her hair:
Two other precious drops that ready stood
Each in their crystal sluice, he, ere they fell,
Kissed, as the gracious signs of sweet remorse
And pious awe, that feared to have offended.

The Morning Hymn is written in imitation of one of those Psalms where, in the overflowings of gratitude and praise, the Psalmist calls not only upon the angels, but upon the most conspicuous parts of the inanimate creation, to join with him in extolling their common Maker. Invocations of this nature fill the mind with glorious ideas of God's works, and awaken that divine enthusiasm which is so natural to devotion. But if this calling upon the dead parts of nature is at all times a proper kind of worship, it was in a particular manner suitable to our first parents, who had the creation fresh upon their minds, and had not seen the various dispensations of Providence, nor consequently could be acquainted with those many topics of praise which might afford matter to the devotions of their posterity. I need not remark the[2] beautiful spirit of poetry which runs through this whole Hymn, nor the holiness of that resolution with which it concludes.

Having already mentioned those speeches which are assigned to the persons in this poem, I proceed to the description which the poet gives[3] of Raphael. His depart-

[1] 5. 129–135.
[2] First edition, 'that' (Arber).
[3] First edition, 'gives us.'

ure from before the throne, and the[1] flight through the choirs of angels, is finely imaged. As Milton everywhere fills his poem with circumstances that are marvelous and astonishing, he describes the gate of heaven as framed after such a manner that it opened of itself upon the approach of the angel who was to pass through it: —

> [2] Till, at the gate
> Of Heaven arrived, the gate self-opened wide,
> On golden hinges turning, as by work
> Divine the sovran Architect had framed.

The poet here seems to have regarded two or three passages in the Eighteenth Iliad, as that in particular where, speaking of Vulcan, Homer says that he had made twenty tripods running on golden wheels, which upon occasion might go of themselves to the assembly of the gods, and when there was no more use for them return again after the same manner. Scaliger has rallied Homer very severely upon this point, as M. Dacier has endeavored to defend it. I will not pretend to determine whether, in this particular of Homer, the marvelous does not lose sight of the probable. As the miraculous workmanship of Milton's gates is not so extraordinary as this of the tripods, so I am persuaded he would not have mentioned it had not he been supported in it by a passage in the Scripture, which speaks of wheels in heaven that had life in them, and moved of themselves or stood still in conformity with the cherubims whom they accompanied.

There is no question but Milton had this circumstance in his thoughts, because in the following book he describes the chariot of the Messiah with *living* wheels, according to the plan in Ezekiel's vision: —

[1] First edition, 'his' (Arber).
[2] 5. 253–256.

[1] Forth rushed with whirlwind sound
The chariot of Paternal Deity,
Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel; undrawn,
Itself instinct with spirit.

I question not but Bossu and the two Daciers, who are for vindicating everything that is censured in Homer by something parallel in Holy Writ, would have been very well pleased had they thought of confronting Vulcan's tripods with Ezekiel's wheels.

Raphael's descent to the earth, with the figure of his person, is represented in very lively colors. Several of the French, Italian, and English poets have given a loose to their imaginations in the description of angels; but I do not remember to have met with any so finely drawn, and so conformable to the notions which are given of them in Scripture, as this in Milton. After having set him forth in all his heavenly plumage, and represented him as alighting upon the earth, the poet concludes his description with a circumstance which is altogether new, and imagined with the greatest strength of fancy: —

[2] Like Maia's son he stood,
And shook his plumes, that heavenly fragrance filled
The circuit wide.

Raphael's reception by the guardian angels, his passing through the wilderness of sweets, his distant appearance to Adam, have all the graces that poetry is capable of bestowing. The author afterwards gives us a particular description of Eve in her domestic employments: —

[3] So saying, with dispatchful looks in haste
She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent
What choice to choose for delicacy best,
What order so contrived as not to mix
Tastes, not well joined, inelegant, but bring

[1] 6. 749–752. [2] 5. 285–287. [3] 5. 331–337.

> Taste after taste upheld with kindliest change:
> Bestirs her then, etc.

Though in this and other parts of the same book the subject is only the housewifery of our first parent, it is set off with so many pleasing images and strong expressions as make it none of the least agreeable parts in this divine work.

The natural majesty of Adam, and at the same time his submissive behavior to the superior being who had vouchsafed to be his guest; the solemn 'Hail!' which the angel bestows upon the mother of mankind, with the figure of Eve ministering at the table, are circumstances which deserve to be admired.

Raphael's behavior is every way suitable to the dignity of his nature, and to that character of a sociable spirit with which the author has so judiciously introduced him. He had received instructions to converse with Adam, as one friend converses with another, and to warn him of the enemy who was contriving his destruction; accordingly he is represented as sitting down at a table with Adam, and eating of the fruits of Paradise. The occasion naturally leads him to his discourse on the food of angels. After having thus entered into conversation with man upon more indifferent subjects, he warns him of his obedience, and makes a natural transition to the history of that fallen angel who was employed in the circumvention of our first parents.

Had I followed Monsieur Bossu's method in my first paper of[1] Milton, I should have dated the action of Paradise Lost from the beginning of Raphael's speech in this book, as he supposes the action of the Æneid to begin in the Second Book of that poem. I could allege

[1] First edition, 'on' (Arber); Morley's edition, 'of' (misprint for 'on'?).

many reasons for my drawing the action of the Æneid rather from its immediate beginning in the First Book, than from its remote beginning in the Second; and show why I have considered the sacking of Troy as an episode, according to the common acceptation of that word. But as this would be a dry unentertaining piece of criticism, and perhaps unnecessary to those who have read my first paper, I shall not enlarge upon it. Whichever of the notions be true, the unity of Milton's action is preserved according to either of them; whether we consider the Fall of Man in its immediate beginning, as proceeding from the resolutions taken in the infernal council, or in its more remote beginning, as proceeding from the first revolt of the angels in heaven. The occasion which Milton assigns for this revolt, as it is founded on hints in Holy Writ, and on the opinion of some great writers, so it was the most proper that the poet could have made use of.

The revolt in heaven is described with great force of imagination,[1] and a fine variety of circumstances. The learned reader cannot but be pleased with the poet's imitation of Homer in the last of the following lines: —

> [2] At length into the limits of the North
> They came, and Satan to [3] his royal seat
> High on a hill, far-blazing, as a mount
> Raised on a mount, with pyramids and towers
> From diamond quarries hewn and rocks of gold —
> The palace of great Lucifer — so call
> That structure in the dialect of men
> Interpreted.

Homer mentions persons and things, which he tells us in the language of the gods are called by different names

[1] Second edition, 'imagination' (Morley), 'indignation' (Arber).
[2] 5. 755–762. [3] The editions have 'took.'

from those they go by in the language of men. Milton has imitated him with his usual judgment in this particular place, wherein he has likewise the authority of Scripture to justify him. The part of Abdiel, who was the only spirit that in this infinite host of angels preserved his allegiance to his Maker, exhibits to us a noble moral of religious singularity. The zeal of the seraphim breaks forth in a becoming warmth of sentiments and expressions, as the character which is given us of him denotes that generous scorn and intrepidity which attends heroic virtue. The author doubtless designed it as a pattern to those who live among mankind in their present state of degeneracy and corruption: —

[1] So spake the Seraph Abdiel, faithful found;
Among the faithless faithful only he;
Among innumerable false unmoved,
Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal;
Nor number nor example with him wrought
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind,
Though single. From amidst them forth he passed,
Long way through hostile [2] scorn, which he sustained
Superior, nor of violence feared aught;
And with retorted scorn his back he turned
On those proud towers, to swift destruction doomed.

[1] 5. 896–907.

[2] Added in second edition (Morley; not so Arber).

12.[1]

BOOK VI.

Vocat in certamina divos. — VIRG. *Æn.* 6. 172.

He calls embattled deities to arms.

WE are now entering upon the Sixth Book of Paradise Lost, in which the poet describes the battle of angels, having raised his reader's expectation, and prepared him for it by several passages in the preceding books. I omitted quoting these passages in my observations on the former books, having purposely reserved them for the opening of this, the subject of which gave occasion to them. The author's imagination was so inflamed with this great scene of action, that wherever he speaks of it he rises, if possible, above himself. Thus where he mentions Satan in the beginning of his poem : —

> [2] Him the Almighty Power
> Hurled headlong flaming from the ethereal sky,
> With hideous ruin and combustion, down
> To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
> In adamantine chains and penal fire,
> Who durst defy the Omnipotent to arms.

We have likewise several noble hints of it in the infernal conference : —

> [3] O Prince, O Chief of many thronèd Powers
> That led the embattled Seraphim to war, —[4]

[1] *Spectator*, No. 333, March 22, 1712.

[2] 1. 44–49. [3] 1. 128–129. [4] No break in the editions.

[1] Too well I see and rue the dire event
That, with sad overthrow and foul defeat,
Hath lost us Heaven, and all this mighty host
In horrible destruction laid thus low.[2]

[3] But see! the angry Victor hath recalled
His ministers of vengeance and pursuit
Back to the gates of Heaven; the sulphurous hail,
Shot after us in storm, o'erblown hath laid
The fiery surge that from the precipice
Of Heaven received us falling; and the thunder,
Winged with red lightning and impetuous rage,
Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now
To bellow through the vast and boundless Deep.

There are several other very sublime images on the same subject in the First Book, as also in the Second: —

[4] What when we fled amain, pursued and strook
With Heaven's afflicting thunder, and besought
The Deep to shelter us? this Hell then seemed
A refuge from those wounds.

In short, the poet never mentions anything of this battle but in such images of greatness and terror as are suitable to the subject. Among several others, I cannot forbear quoting that passage where the Power who is described as presiding over the chaos speaks in the Second[5] Book: —

[6] Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old,
With faltering speech and visage incomposed,
Answered: — 'I know thee, stranger, who thou art —
That mighty leading Angel, who of late
Made head against Heaven's King, though overthrown.
I saw and heard; for such a numerous host
Fled not in silence through the frighted Deep,
With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,

[1] 1. 134–137.
[2] No break in the editions.
[3] 1. 169–177.
[4] 2. 165–168.
[5] The editions have 'Third.'
[6] 2. 988–998.

Confusion worse confounded; and Heaven-gates[1]
Poured out by millions her victorious bands,
Pursuing.'

It required great pregnancy of invention and strength of imagination to fill this battle with such circumstances as should raise and astonish the mind of the reader; and, at the same time, an exactness of judgment to avoid everything that might appear light or trivial. Those who look into Homer are surprised to find his battles still rising one above another, and improving in horror to the conclusion of the Iliad. Milton's fight of angels is wrought up with the same beauty. It is ushered in with such signs of wrath as are suitable to Omnipotence incensed. The first engagement is carried on under a cope of fire, occasioned by the flights of innumerable burning darts and arrows which are discharged from either host. The second onset is still more terrible, as it is filled with those artificial thunders which seem to make the victory doubtful, and produce a kind of consternation even in the good angels. This is followed by the tearing up of mountains and promontories, till, in the last place, the Messiah comes forth in the fulness of majesty and terror. The pomp of his appearance, amidst the roarings of his thunders, the flashes of his lightnings, and the noise of his chariot-wheels, is described with the utmost flights of human imagination.

There is nothing in the first and last day's engagement which does not appear natural and agreeable enough to the ideas most readers would conceive of a fight between two armies of angels.

The second day's engagement is apt to startle an imagination which has not been raised and qualified for such a description by the reading of the ancient poets, and of

[1] The editions have 'heaven's gates.'

Homer in particular. It was certainly a very bold thought in our author to ascribe the first use of artillery to the rebel angels. But as such a pernicious invention may be well supposed to have proceeded from such authors, so it entered very properly into the thoughts of that being who is all along described as aspiring to the majesty of his Maker. Such engines were the only instruments he could have made use of to imitate those thunders that in all poetry, both sacred and profane, are represented as the arms of the Almighty. The tearing up of the hills was not altogether so daring a thought as the former. We are in some measure prepared for such an incident by the description of the giants' war, which we meet with among the ancient poets. What still made this circumstance the more proper for the poet's use is the opinion of many learned men that the fable of the giants' war, which makes so great a noise in antiquity, and gave birth to the sublimest description in Hesiod's works,[1] was[2] an allegory founded upon this very tradition of a fight between the good and bad angels.

It may perhaps be worth while to consider with what judgment Milton in this narration has avoided everything that is mean and trivial in the descriptions of the Latin and Greek poets, and at the same time improved every great hint which he met with in their works upon this subject. Homer, in that passage which Longinus has celebrated for its sublimeness, and which Virgil and Ovid have copied after him, tells us that the giants threw Ossa upon Olympus, and Pelion upon Ossa. He adds an epithet to Pelion, *εἰνοσίφυλλον*, which very much swells the idea by bringing up to the reader's imagination all the woods that grew upon it. There is, further, a great beauty in his singling out by name these three remarkable moun-

[1] 'And gave . . . works' added in second edition.

[2] First edition, 'is' (Morley), 'was' (Arber).

tains, so well known to the Greeks. This last is such a beauty as the scene of Milton's war could not possibly furnish him with. Claudian, in his fragment upon the Giants' War, has given full scope to that wildness of imagination which was natural to him. He tells us that the giants tore up whole islands by the roots and threw them at the gods. He describes one of them, in particular, taking up Lemnos in his arms and whirling it to the skies, with all Vulcan's shop in the midst of it. Another tears up Mount Ida, with the river Enipeus which ran down the sides of it; but the poet, not content to describe him with this mountain upon his shoulders, tells us that the river flowed down his back as he held it up in that posture. It is visible to every judicious reader that such ideas savor more of burlesque than of the sublime. They proceed from a wantonness of imagination, and rather divert the mind than astonish it. Milton has taken everything that is sublime in these several passages, and composes out of them the following great image: —

> [1] From their foundations, loosening to and fro,
> They plucked the seated hills, with all their load,
> Rocks, waters, woods, and by the shaggy tops
> Uplifting, bore them in their hands.

We have the full majesty of Homer in this short description, improved by the imagination of Claudian without its puerilities.

I need not point out the description of the fallen angels seeing the promontories hanging over their heads in such a dreadful manner, with the other numberless beauties in this book, which are so conspicuous that they cannot escape the notice of the most ordinary reader.

There are indeed so many wonderful strokes of poetry in this book, and such a variety of sublime ideas, that it

[1] 6. 643–646.

would have been impossible to have given them a place within the bounds of this paper. Besides that, I find it in a great measure done to my hand at the end of my Lord Roscommon's Essay on Translated Poetry. I shall refer my reader thither for some of the master-strokes in the Sixth Book of Paradise Lost, though at the same time there are many others which that noble author has not taken notice of.

Milton, notwithstanding the sublime genius he was master of, has in this book drawn to his assistance all the helps he could meet with among the ancient poets. The sword of Michael, which makes so great a[1] havoc among the bad angels, was given him, we are told, out of the armory of God: —

> [2] But the sword
> Of Michael from the armory of God
> Was given him tempered so that neither keen
> Nor solid might resist that edge: it met
> The sword of Satan, with steep force to smite
> Descending, and in half cut sheer.

This passage is a copy of that in Virgil, wherein the poet tells us that the sword of Æneas, which was given him by a deity, broke into pieces the sword of Turnus, which came from a mortal forge. As the moral in this place is divine, so by the way we may observe that the bestowing on a man who is favored by Heaven such an allegorical weapon is very conformable to the old Eastern way of thinking. Not only Homer has made use of it, but we find the Jewish hero in the Book of Maccabees, who had fought the battles of the Chosen People with so much glory and success, receiving in his dream a sword from the hand of the prophet Jeremiah.[3] The following

[1] First edition, 'an.'

[2] 6. 320–325.

[3] First edition, 'Jeremy' (Arber).

passage, wherein Satan is described as wounded by the sword of Michael, is in imitation of Homer: —

> [1] The griding sword with discontinuous wound
> Passed through him. But the ethereal substance closed,
> Not long divisible; and from the gash
> A stream of nectarous humor issuing flowed
> Sanguine, such as celestial Spirits may bleed,
> And all his armor stained.

Homer tells us in the same manner that, upon Diomedes wounding the gods, there flowed from the wound an ichor, or pure kind of blood, which was not bred from mortal viands; and that, though the pain was exquisitely great, the wound soon closed up and healed in those beings who are vested with immortality.

I question not but Milton, in his description of his furious Moloch flying from the battle and bellowing with the wound he had received, had his eye on Mars in the Iliad: who, upon his being wounded, is represented as retiring out of the fight, and making an outcry louder than that of a whole army when it begins the charge. Homer adds that the Greeks and Trojans, who were engaged in a general battle, were terrified on each side with the bellowing of this wounded deity. The reader will easily observe how Milton has kept all the horror of this image, without running into the ridicule of it: —

> [2] Where the might of Gabriel fought,
> And with fierce ensigns pierced the deep array
> Of Moloch, furious king, who him defied,
> And at his chariot-wheels to drag him bound
> Threatened, nor from the Holy One of Heaven
> Refrained his tongue blasphémous, but anon,
> Down cloven to the waist, with shattered arms
> And uncouth pain fled bellowing.

[1] 6. 329–334. [2] 6. 355–362.

Milton has likewise raised his description in this book with many images taken out of the poetical parts of Scripture. The Messiah's chariot, as I have before taken notice, is formed upon a vision of Ezekiel, who, as Grotius observes, has very much in him of Homer's spirit in the poetical parts of his prophecy.

The following lines, in that glorious commission which is given the Messiah to extirpate the host of rebel angels, is drawn from a sublime passage in the Psalms: —

> [1] Go, then, thou Mightiest, in thy Father's might;
> Ascend my chariot; guide the rapid wheels
> That shake Heaven's basis; bring forth all my war;
> My bow and [2] thunder, my almighty arms,
> Gird on, and sword upon thy puissant thigh.

The reader will easily discover many other strokes of the same nature.

There is no question but Milton had heated his imagination with the fight of the gods in Homer before he entered upon this engagement of the angels. Homer there gives us a scene of men, heroes, and gods mixed together in battle. Mars animates the contending armies, and lifts up his voice in such a manner that it is heard distinctly amidst all the shouts and confusion of the fight. Jupiter at the same time thunders over their heads; while Neptune raises such a tempest that the whole field of battle and all the tops of the mountains shake about them. The poet tells us that Pluto himself, whose habitation was in the very centre of the earth, was so affrighted at the shock that he leapt from his throne. Homer afterwards describes Vulcan as pouring down a storm of fire upon the river Xanthus, and Minerva as throwing a rock at Mars; who, he tells us, covered seven acres in his fall.

As Homer has introduced into his battle of the gods

[1] 6. 710–714. [2] The editions have 'my.'

everything that is great and terrible in nature, Milton has filled his fight of good and bad angels with all the like circumstances of horror. The shout of armies, the rattling of brazen chariots, the hurling of rocks and mountains, the earthquake, the fire, the thunder, are all of them employed to lift up the reader's imagination and give him a suitable idea of so great an action. With what art has the poet represented the whole body of the earth trembling, even before it was created! —

> [1] All Heaven
> Resounded; and, had Earth been then, all Earth
> Had to its centre shook.

In how sublime and just a manner does he afterwards describe the whole heaven shaking under the wheels of the Messiah's chariot, with that exception to the throne of God! —

> [2] Under his burning wheels
> The stedfast Empyrean shook throughout,
> All but the throne itself of God.

Notwithstanding the Messiah appears clothed with so much terror and majesty, the poet has still found means to make his readers conceive an idea of him beyond what he himself is able to describe: —

> [3] Yet half his strength he put not forth, but checked
> His thunder in mid-volley; for he meant
> Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven.

In a word, Milton's genius, which was so great in itself, and so strengthened by all the helps of learning, appears in this book every way equal to his subject,[4] which was the most sublime that could enter into the thoughts of a poet. As he knew all the arts of affecting the mind,

[1] 6. 217–219. [2] 6. 832–834. [3] 6. 853–855.
[4] Second edition, 'subjects' (Arber; not so Morley).

he knew it was necessary to give[1] it certain resting-places and opportunities of recovering itself from time to time; he has therefore[2] with great address interspersed several speeches, reflections, similitudes, and the like reliefs to diversify his narration and ease the attention of the[3] reader, that he might come fresh to his great action, and by such a contrast of ideas have a more lively taste of the nobler parts of his description.

[1] For 'he knew . . . give,' the first edition has 'had he not given.'
[2] Added in second edition.
[3] First edition, 'his.'

13.[1]

BOOK VII.

Ut his exordia primis
Omnia, et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis.
Tum durare solum et discludere Nerea ponto
Cœperit, et rerum paulatim sumere formas.
— VIRG.[2] *Ecl.* 6. 33–36.

He sung the secret seeds of Nature's frame:
How seas, and earth, and air, and active flame,
Fell through the mighty void, and, in their fall,
Were blindly gathered in this goodly ball.
The tender soil then, stiffening by degrees,
Shut from the bounded earth the bounding seas.
The earth and ocean various forms disclose,
And a new sun to the new world arose. — DRYDEN.

LONGINUS has observed that there may be a loftiness in sentiments where there is no passion, and brings instances out of ancient authors to support this his opinion. The pathetic, as that great critic observes, may animate and inflame the sublime, but is not essential to it. Accordingly, as he further remarks, we very often find that those who excel most in stirring up the passions very often want the talent of writing in the great and sublime manner, and so on the contrary. Milton has shown himself a master in both these ways of writing. The Seventh Book, which we are now entering upon, is an instance of that sublime which is not mixed and worked up with

[1] *Spectator*, No. 339, March 29, 1712.
[2] First edition, 'Ovid.'

passion. The author appears in a kind of composed and sedate majesty; and, though the sentiments do not give so great an[1] emotion as those in the former book, they abound with as magnificent ideas. The Sixth Book, like a troubled ocean, represents greatness in confusion; the Seventh affects the imagination like the ocean in a calm, and fills the mind of the reader, without producing in it anything like tumult or agitation.

The critic above-mentioned, among the rules which he lays down for succeeding in the sublime way of writing, proposes to his reader that he should imitate the most celebrated authors who have gone before him and been[2] engaged in works of the same nature; as, in particular, that, if he writes on a poetical subject, he should consider how Homer would have spoken on such an occasion. By this means one great genius often catches the flame from another, and writes in his spirit without copying servilely after him. There are a thousand shining passages in Virgil which have been lighted up by Homer.

Milton, though his own natural strength of genius was capable of furnishing out a perfect work, has doubtless very much raised and ennobled his conception by such an imitation as that which Longinus has recommended.

In this book, which gives us an account of the six days' works, the poet received but very few assistances from heathen writers, who were strangers to the wonders of creation. But, as there are many glorious strokes of poetry upon this subject in Holy Writ, the author has numberless allusions to them through the whole course of this book. The great critic I have before mentioned, though an heathen, has taken notice of the sublime manner in which the lawgiver of the Jews has described the Creation in the first chapter of Genesis; and there are

[1] Added in second edition (Arber).

[2] First edition, 'have been' (Arber).

many other passages in Scripture which rise up to the same majesty where this subject is touched upon. Milton has shown his judgment very remarkably in making use of such of these as were proper for his poem, and in duly qualifying those high strains of Eastern poetry which were suited to readers whose imaginations were set to an higher pitch than those of colder climates.

Adam's speech to the angel, wherein he desires an account of what had passed within the regions of nature before the[1] Creation, is very great and solemn. The following lines, in which he tells him that the day is not too far spent for him to enter upon such a subject, are exquisite in their kind: —

> [2] And the greatest Light of Day yet wants to run
> Much of his race, though steep. Suspense in heaven
> Held by thy voice, thy potent voice he hears,
> And longer will delay to hear thee tell
> His generation, etc.

The angel's encouraging our first parents[3] in a modest pursuit after knowledge, with the excess which he assigns for the creation of the world, are very just and beautiful. The Messiah, by whom, as we are told in Scripture, the worlds[4] were made, comes forth in the power of his Father, surrounded with an host of angels, and clothed with such a majesty as becomes his entering upon a work which, according to our conceptions, appears[5] the utmost exertion of Omnipotence. What a beautiful description has our author raised upon that hint in one of the prophets, — 'And behold there came four chariots out from between two mountains, and the mountains were mountains of brass:' —

[1] First edition, 'his' (Arber).
[2] 7. 98–102.
[3] First edition, 'parent.'
[4] First edition, 'heavens.'
[5] First edition, 'looks like.'

[1] About his chariot numberless were poured
Cherub and Seraph, Potentates and Thrones,
And Virtues, Winged Spirits, and chariots winged
From the armory of God, where stand of old
Myriads, between two brazen mountains lodged
Against a solemn day, harnessed at hand,
Celestial equipage; and now came forth
Spontaneous, for within them Spirit lived,
Attendant on their Lord. Heaven opened wide
Her ever-during gates, harmonious sound
On golden hinges moving.

I have before taken notice of these chariots of God, and of these gates of heaven; and shall here only add that Homer gives us the same idea of the latter as opening of themselves, though he afterwards takes off from it by telling us that the Hours first of all removed those prodigious heaps of clouds which lay as a barrier before them.

I do not know anything in the whole poem more sublime than the description which follows, where the Messiah is represented at the head of his angels as looking down into the chaos, calming its confusion, riding into the midst of it, and drawing the first outline of the Creation: —

[2] On Heavenly ground they stood, and from the shore
They viewed the vast immeasurable Abyss,
Outrageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild,
Up from the bottom turned by furious winds
And surging waves, as mountains to assault
Heaven's highth, and with the centre mix the pole.
'Silence, ye troubled waves, and, thou Deep, peace!'
Said then the omnific Word: 'Your discord end!'
Nor stayed; but on the wings of Cherubim
Uplifted, in paternal glory rode
Far into Chaos and the World unborn:
For Chaos heard his voice. Him all his train

[1] 7. 197–207. [2] 7. 210–231.

Followed in bright procession, to behold
Creation, and the wonders of his might.
Then stayed the fervid wheels, and in his hand
He took the golden compasses, prepared
In God's eternal store, to circumscribe
This Universe, and all created things.
One foot he centered, and the other turned
Round through the vast profundity obscure,
And said, 'Thus far extend, thus far thy bounds;
This be thy just circumference, O World!'

The thought of the golden compasses is conceived altogether in Homer's spirit, and is a very noble incident in this wonderful description. Homer, when he speaks of the gods, ascribes to them several arms and instruments with the same greatness of imagination. Let the reader only peruse the description of Minerva's ægis, or buckler, in the Fifth Book, with her spear which would[1] overturn whole squadrons, and her helmet that was sufficient to cover an army drawn out of an hundred cities. The golden compasses, in the above-mentioned passage, appear a very natural instrument in the hand of Him whom Plato somewhere calls the Divine Geometrician. As poetry delights in clothing abstracted ideas in allegories and sensible images, we find a magnificent description of the Creation, formed after the same manner, in one of the prophets, wherein he describes the Almighty Architect as measuring the waters in the hollow of his hand, meting out the heavens with his span, comprehending the dust of the earth in a measure, weighing the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance. Another of them, describing the Supreme Being in this great work of creation, represents Him as laying the foundations of the earth, and stretching a line upon it; and, in another place, as garnishing the

[1] First edition, 'could' (Arber).

heavens, stretching out the north over the empty place, and hanging the earth upon nothing. This last noble thought Milton has expressed in the following verse : —

[1] And Earth, self-balanced, on her centre hung.

The beauties of description in this book lie so very thick that it is impossible to enumerate them in this paper. The poet has employed on them the whole energy of our tongue. The several great scenes of the creation rise up to view one after another in such a manner that the reader seems present at this wonderful work, and to assist among the choirs of angels who are the spectators of it. How glorious is the conclusion of the first day ! —

[2] Thus was the first Day even and morn;
Nor passed uncelebrated, nor unsung
By the celestial quires, when orient light
Exhaling first from darkness they beheld,
Birth-day of Heaven and Earth ! With joy and shout
The hollow universal orb they filled.

We have the same elevation of thought in the third day, when the mountains were brought forth, and the deep was made : —

[3] Immediately the mountains huge appear
Emergent, and their broad bare backs upheave
Into the clouds; their tops ascend the sky.
So high as heaven the tumid hills, so low
Down sunk a hollow bottom broad and deep,
Capacious bed of waters.

We have also the rising of the whole vegetable world described in this day's work, which is filled with all the graces the other poets have lavished on their descriptions of the spring, and leads the reader's imagination into a theatre equally surprising and beautiful.

[1] 7. 242. [2] 7. 252–257. [3] 7. 285–290.

The several glories of the heavens make their appearance on the fourth day: —

[1] First in his east the glorious lamp was seen,
Regent of day, and all the horizon round
Invested with bright rays, jocund to run
His longitude through heaven's high road; the grey
Dawn, and the Pleiades, before him danced,
Shedding sweet influence. Less bright the Moon,
But opposite in leveled west, was set,
His mirror, with full face borrowing her light
From him; for other light she needed none
In that aspect, and still that distance keeps
Till night; then in the east her turn she shines,
Revolved on heaven's great axle, and her reign
With thousand lesser lights dividual holds,
With thousand thousand stars, that then appeared
Spangling the hemisphere.

One would wonder how the poet could be so concise in his description of the six days' works as to comprehend them within the bounds of an episode, and at the same time so particular as to give us a lively idea of them. This is still more remarkable in his account of the fifth and sixth days,[2] in which he has drawn out to our view the whole animal creation, from the reptile to the behemoth. As the lion and the leviathan are two of the noblest productions in the[3] world of living creatures, the reader will find a most exquisite spirit of poetry in the account which our author gives us of them. The sixth day concludes with the formation of man, upon which the angel takes occasion, as he did after the battle in heaven, to remind Adam of his obedience, which was the principal design of this his visit.

The poet afterwards represents the Messiah returning

[1] 7. 370–384.
[2] First edition, 'day' (Arber).
[3] First edition, 'this.'

into heaven, and taking a survey of his great work. There is something inexpressibly sublime in this part of the poem, where the author describes that great period of time, filled with so many glorious circumstances: — when the heavens and earth were finished; when the Messiah ascended up in triumph through the everlasting gates; when he looked down with pleasure upon his new creation; when every part of Nature seemed to rejoice in its existence; when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy: —

> [1] So even and morn accomplished the sixth Day;
> Yet not till the Creator, from his work
> Desisting, though unwearied, up returned,
> Up to the Heaven of Heavens, his high abode,
> Thence to behold this new-created World,
> The addition of his empire, how it showed
> In prospect from his throne, how good, how fair,
> Answering his great idea. Up he rode,
> Followed with acclamation, and the sound
> Symphonious of ten thousand harps, that tuned
> Angelic harmonies. The Earth, the Air
> Resounded (thou rememberest, for thou heard'st)
> The heavens and all the constellations rung,
> The planets in their station listening stood,
> While the bright pomp ascended jubilant.
> 'Open, ye everlasting gates!' they sung;
> 'Open, ye Heavens, your living doors! let in
> The great Creator from his work returned
> Magnificent, his six days' work, a World!'

I cannot conclude this book upon the Creation without mentioning a poem which has lately appeared under that title. The work was undertaken with so good an intention, and is executed with so great a mastery, that it deserves to be looked upon as one of the most useful and noble productions in our English verse. The

[1] 7. 550–568.

reader cannot but be pleased to find the depths of philosophy enlivened with all the charms of poetry, and to see so great a strength of reason amidst so beautiful a redundancy of the imagination. The author has shown us that design in all the works of Nature which necessarily leads us to the knowledge of its first cause. In short, he has illustrated, by numberless and incontestable instances, that divine wisdom which the son of Sirach has so nobly ascribed to the Supreme Being in his formation of the world, when he tells us that 'He created her, and saw her, and numbered her, and poured her out upon all His works.'

14.[1]

BOOK VIII.

Sanctius his animal, mentisque capacius altæ,
Deerat adhuc, et quod dominari in cætera posset:
Natus homo est. — OVID, *Met.* 2. 76–78.

A creature of a more exalted kind
Was wanting yet, and then was man designed;
Conscious of thought, of more capacious breast,
For empire formed, and fit to rule the rest. — DRYDEN.

THE accounts which Raphael gives of the battle of angels, and the creation of the world, have in them those qualifications which the critics judge requisite to an episode. They are nearly related to the principal action, and have a just connection with the fable.

The Eighth Book opens with a beautiful description of the impression which this discourse of the archangel made on our first parents.[2] Adam afterwards by a very natural curiosity inquires concerning the motions of those celestial bodies which make the most glorious appearance among the six days' works. The poet here, with a great deal of art, represents Eve as withdrawing from this part of their conversation to amusements more suitable to her sex. He well knew that the episode in this book, which is filled with Adam's account of his passion and esteem for Eve, would have been improper for her hearing, and has therefore devised very just and beautiful reasons for her retiring: —

[1] *Spectator*, No. 345, April 5, 1712.
[2] First edition, 'parent.'

[1] So spake our Sire, and by his countenance seemed
Entering on studious thoughts abstruse; which Eve
Perceiving, where she sat retired in sight,
With lowliness majestic from her seat,
And grace that won who saw to wish her stay,
Rose, and went forth among her fruits and flowers,
To visit how they prospered, bud and bloom,
Her nursery; they at her coming sprung,
And, touched by her fair tendance, gladlier grew.
Yet went she not as not with such discourse
Delighted, or not capable her ear
Of what was high. Such pleasure she reserved,
Adam relating, she sole auditress;
Her husband the relater she preferred
Before the Angel, and of him to ask
Chose rather; he, she knew, would intermix
Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute
With conjugal caresses: from his lip
Not words alone pleased her. Oh, when meet now
Such pairs, in love and mutual honor joined?

The angel's returning a doubtful answer to Adam's inquiries was not only proper for the moral reason which the poet assigns, but because it would have been highly absurd to have given the sanction of an archangel to any particular system of philosophy. The chief points in the Ptolemaic and Copernican hypothesis are described with great conciseness and perspicuity, and at the same time dressed in very pleasing and poetical images.

Adam, to detain the angel, enters afterwards upon his own history, and relates to him the circumstances in which he found himself upon his creation; as also his conversation with his Maker, and his first meeting with Eve. There is no part of the poem more apt to raise the attention of the reader than this discourse of our great ancestor, as nothing can be more surprising and delightful to us than to hear the sentiments that arose in the first man,

[1] 8. 39–58.

while he was yet new and fresh from the hands of his Creator. The poet has interwoven everything which is delivered upon this subject in Holy Writ with so many beautiful imaginations of his own, that nothing can be conceived more just and natural than this whole episode. As our author knew this subject could not but be agreeable to his reader, he would not throw it into the relation of the six days' works, but reserved it for a distinct episode, that he might have an opportunity of expatiating upon it more at large. Before I enter on this part of the poem, I cannot but take notice of two shining passages in the dialogue between Adam and the angel. The first is that wherein our ancestor gives an account of the pleasure he took in conversing with him, which contains a very noble moral: —

> [1] For, while I sit with thee, I seem in Heaven;
> And sweeter thy discourse is to my ear
> Than fruits of palm-tree, pleasantest to thirst
> And hunger both, from labor, at the hour
> Of sweet repast. They satiate, and soon fill,
> Though pleasant; but thy words, with grace divine
> Imbued, bring to their sweetness no satiety.

The other I shall mention is that in which the angel gives a reason why he should be glad to hear the story Adam was about to relate: —

> [2] For I that day was absent, as befell,
> Bound on a voyage uncouth and obscure,
> Far on excursion towards the gates of Hell,
> Squared in full legion (such command we had),
> To see that none thence issued forth a spy
> Or enemy, while God was in his work,
> Lest he, incensed at such eruption bold,
> Destruction with Creation might have mixed.

[1] 8. 210–216. [2] 8. 229–236.

There is no question but our poet drew the image in what follows from that in Virgil's Sixth Book, where Æneas and the Sibyl stand before the adamantine gates which are there described as shut upon the place of torments, and listen to the groans, the clank of chains, and the noise of iron whips, that were heard in those regions of pain and sorrow: —

[1] Fast we found, fast shut,
The dismal gates, and barricadoed strong,
But, long ere our approaching, heard within
Noise other than the sound of dance or song —
Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage.

Adam then proceeds to give an account of his condition and sentiments immediately after his creation. How agreeably does he represent the posture in which he found himself, the beautiful landscape that surrounded him, and the gladness of heart which grew up in him on that occasion! —

[2] As new-waked from soundest sleep,
Soft on the flowery herb I found me laid,
In balmy sweat, which with his beams the Sun
Soon dried, and on the reeking moisture fed.
Straight toward Heaven my wondering eyes I turned,
And gazed a while the ample sky, till, raised
By quick instinctive motion, up I sprung,
As thitherward endeavoring, and upright
Stood on my feet. About me round I saw
Hill, dale, and shady woods, and sunny plains,
And liquid lapse of murmuring streams; by these,
Creatures that lived and moved, and walked or flew,
Birds on the branches warbling: all things smiled;
With fragrance and with joy my heart o'erflowed.

Adam is afterwards described as surprised at his own existence, and taking a survey of himself and of all the

[1] 8. 240–244; the first edition adds eight lines to the quotation (Arber). [2] 8. 253–266.

works of nature. He likewise is represented as discovering, by the light of reason, that he and everything about him must have been the effect of some Being infinitely good and powerful, and that this Being had a right to his worship and adoration. His first address to the sun, and to those parts of the creation which made the most distinguished figure, is very natural and amusing to the imagination: —

> [1] 'Thou Sun,' said I, 'fair light,
> And thou enlightened Earth, so fresh and gay,
> Ye hills and dales, ye rivers, woods, and plains,
> And ye that live and move, fair creatures, tell,
> Tell, if ye saw, how came I thus, how here!'

His next sentiment when, upon his first going to sleep, he fancies himself losing his existence, and falling away into nothing, can never be sufficiently admired. His dream, in which he still preserves the consciousness of his existence, together with his removal into the garden which was prepared for his reception, are also circumstances finely imagined, and grounded upon what is delivered in sacred story.

These, and the like wonderful incidents in this part of the work, have in them all the beauties of novelty, at the same time that they have all the graces of nature. They are such as none but a great genius could have thought of, though upon the perusal of them they seem to rise of themselves from the subject of which he treats. In a word, though they are natural, they are not obvious, which is the true character of all fine writing.

The impression which the interdiction of the tree of life left in the mind of our first parent is described with great strength and judgment, as the image of the several beasts and birds passing in review before him is very beautiful and lively: —

[1] 8. 273–277.

[1] Each bird and beast behold
Approaching two and two — these cowering low
With blandishment; each bird stooped on his wing.
I named them as they passed.

Adam, in the next place, describes a conference which he held with his Maker upon the subject of solitude. The poet here represents the Supreme Being as making an essay of his own work, and putting to the trial that reasoning faculty with which he had endued his creature. Adam urges, in this divine colloquy, the impossibility of his being happy, though he was the inhabitant of Paradise and lord of the whole creation, without the conversation and society of some rational creature who should partake those blessings with him. This dialogue, which is supported chiefly by the beauty of the thoughts, without other poetical ornaments, is as fine a part as any in the whole poem. The more the reader examines the justness and delicacy of its sentiments, the more he will find himself pleased with it. The poet has wonderfully preserved the character of majesty and condescension in the Creator, and at the same time that of humility and adoration in the creature, as particularly in the following lines: —

[2] Thus I, presumptuous; and the Vision bright,
As with a smile more brightened, thus replied, etc.

[3] I, with leave of speech implored,
And humble deprecation, thus replied: —
'Let not my words offend thee, Heavenly Power;
My Maker, be propitious while I speak,' etc.

Adam then proceeds to give an account of his second sleep, and of the dream in which he beheld the formation of Eve. The new passion that was awakened in him at the sight of her is touched very finely: —

[1] 8. 349–352. [2] 8. 367–368. [3] 8. 377–380.

[1] Under his forming hands a creature grew,
Man-like, but different sex, so lovely fair,
That what seemed fair in all the world seemed now
Mean, or in her summed up, in her contained
And in her looks, which from that time infused
Sweetness into my heart unfelt before,
And into all things from her air inspired
The spirit of love and amorous delight.

Adam's distress upon losing sight of this beautiful phantom, with his exclamations of joy and gratitude at the discovery of a real creature, who resembled the apparition which had been presented to him in his dream; the approaches he makes to her, and his manner of courtship, are all laid together in a most exquisite propriety of sentiments.

Though this part of the poem is worked up with great warmth and spirit, the love which is described in it is every way suitable to a state of innocence. If the reader compares the description which Adam here gives of his leading Eve to the nuptial bower with that which Mr. Dryden has made on the same occasion in a scene of his Fall of Man, he will be sensible of the great care which Milton took to avoid all thoughts on so delicate a subject that might be offensive to religion or good manners. The sentiments are chaste, but not cold; and convey to the mind ideas of the most transporting passion and of the greatest purity. What a noble mixture of rapture and innocence has the author joined together, in the reflection which Adam makes on the pleasures of love, compared to those of sense!—

[2] Thus have I told thee all my state, and brought
My story to the sum of earthly bliss
Which I enjoy, and must confess to find
In all things else delight indeed, but such
As, used or not, works in the mind no change

[1] 8. 470–477. [2] 8. 521–539.

Nor vehement desire — these delicacies
I mean of taste, sight, smell, herbs, fruits, and flowers,
Walks, and the melody of birds: but here,
Far otherwise, transported I behold,
Transported touch; here passion first I felt,
Commotion strange, in all enjoyments else
Superior and unmoved, here only weak
Against the charm of beauty's powerful glance.
Or Nature failed in me, and left some part
Not proof enough such object to sustain,
Or, from my side subducting, took perhaps
More than enough — at least on her bestowed
Too much of ornament, in outward show
Elaborate, of inward less exact.

[1] When I approach
Her loveliness, so absolute she seems
And in herself complete, so well to know
Her own, that what she wills to do or say
Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best.
All higher Knowledge in her presence falls
Degraded; Wisdom in discourse with her
Loses, discountenanced, and like Folly shows;
Authority and Reason on her wait,
As one intended first, not after made
Occasionally; and, to consummate all,
Greatness of mind and nobleness their seat
Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
About her, as a guard angelic placed.

These sentiments of love in our first parent gave the angel such an insight into human nature, that he seems apprehensive of the evils which might befall the species in general as well as Adam in particular, from the excess of this passion. He therefore fortifies him against it by timely admonitions; which very artfully prepare the mind of the reader for the occurrences of the next book, where the weakness, of which Adam here gives such distant discoveries, brings about that fatal event which is

[1] 8. 546–559.

the subject of the poem. His discourse, which follows the gentle rebuke he received from the angel, shows that his love, however violent it might appear, was still founded in reason, and consequently not improper for Paradise : —

[1] 'Neither her outside formed so fair, nor aught
In procreation, common to all kinds
(Though higher of the genial bed by far,
And with mysterious reverence, I deem,)
So much delights me as those graceful acts,
Those thousand decencies, that daily flow
From all her words and actions, mixed with love
And sweet compliance, which declare unfeigned
Union of mind, or in us both one soul —
Harmony to behold in wedded pair.'

Adam's speech at parting with the angel has in it a deference and gratitude agreeable to an inferior nature, and at the same time a certain dignity and greatness suitable to the father of mankind in his state of innocence.

[1] 8. 596–605.

15.[1]

BOOK IX.

In te omnis domus inclinata recumbit. — VIRG. *Æn.* 12. 59.

On thee the fortunes of our house depend.

IF we look into the three great heroic poems which have appeared in the world, we may observe that they are built upon very slight foundations. Homer lived near three hundred[2] years after the Trojan war; and, as the writing of history was not then in use among the Greeks, we may very well suppose that the tradition of Achilles and Ulysses had brought down but very few particulars to his knowledge; though there is no question but he has wrought into his two poems such of their remarkable adventures as were still talked of among his contemporaries.

The story of Æneas, on which Virgil founded his poem, was likewise very bare of circumstances, and by that means afforded him an opportunity of embellishing it with fiction, and giving a full range to his own invention. We find, however, that he has interwoven in the course of his fable the principal particulars, which were generally believed among the Romans, of Æneas's voyage and settlement in Italy.

The reader may find an abridgment of the whole story, as collected out of the ancient historians, and as it was received among the Romans, in Dionysius Halicarnasseus.

[1] *Spectator*, No. 351, April 12, 1712.

[2] Editions, '300.'

Since none of the critics have considered Virgil's fable with relation to this history of Æneas, it may not, perhaps, be amiss to examine it in this light, so far as regards my present purpose. Whoever looks into the abridgment above mentioned will find that the character of Æneas is filled with piety to the gods and a superstitious observation of prodigies, oracles, and predictions. Virgil has not only preserved this character in the person of Æneas, but has given a place in his poem to those particular prophecies which he found recorded of him in history and tradition. The poet took the matters of fact as they came down to him, and circumstanced them after his own manner, to make them appear the more natural, agreeable, or surprising. I believe very many readers have been shocked at that ludicrous prophecy which one of the harpies pronounces to the Trojans in the Third Book : namely, that before they had built their intended city they should be reduced by hunger to eat their very tables. But, when they hear that this was one of the circumstances that had been transmitted to the Romans in the history of Æneas, they will think the poet did very well in taking notice of it. The historian above mentioned acquaints us a prophetess had foretold Æneas that he should take his voyage westward, till his companions should eat their tables ; and that accordingly, upon his landing in Italy, as they were eating their flesh upon cakes of bread for want of other conveniences, they afterwards fed on the cakes themselves ; upon which one of the company said merrily, 'We are eating our tables.' They immediately took the hint, says the historian, and concluded the prophecy to be fulfilled. As Virgil did not think it proper to omit so material a particular in the history of Æneas, it may be worth while to consider with how much judgment he has qualified it, and taken off everything that might have appeared improper for a passage in an heroic poem.

The prophetess who foretells it is an hungry harpy, as the person who discovers it is young Ascanius.

Heus! etiam mensas consumimus! inquit Iulus.

Such an observation, which is beautiful in the mouth of a boy, would have been ridiculous from any other of the company. I am apt to think that the changing of the Trojan fleet into water-nymphs, which is the most violent machine in the whole Æneid, and has given offence to several critics, may be accounted for the same way. Virgil himself, before he begins that relation, premises that what he was going to tell appeared incredible, but that it was justified by tradition. What further confirms me that this change of the fleet was a celebrated circumstance in the history of Æneas is that Ovid has given a place to the same metamorphosis in his account of the heathen mythology.

None of the critics I have met with have considered the fable of the Æneid in this light, and taken notice how the tradition on which it was founded authorizes those parts in it which appear the most exceptionable. I hope the length of this reflection will not make it unacceptable to the curious part of my readers.

The history which was the basis of Milton's poem is still shorter than either that of the Iliad or Æneid. The poet has likewise taken care to insert every circumstance of it in the body of his fable. The Ninth Book, which we are here to consider, is raised upon that brief account in Scripture wherein we are told that the serpent was more subtle than any beast in the field; that he tempted the woman to eat of the forbidden fruit; that she was overcome by this temptation; and that Adam followed her example. From these few particulars Milton has formed one of the most entertaining fables that invention ever produced. He has disposed of these several cir-

cumstances among so many beautiful and natural fictions of his own, that his whole story looks only like a comment upon Sacred Writ, or rather seems to be a full and complete relation of what the other is only an epitome. I have insisted the longer on this consideration, as I look upon the disposition and contrivance of the fable to be the principal beauty of the Ninth Book, which has more story in it, and is fuller of incidents, than any other in the whole poem. Satan's traversing the globe, and still keeping within the shadow of the night, as fearing to be discovered by the angel of the sun, who had before detected him, is one of those beautiful imaginations with which he introduces this his second series of adventures. Having examined the nature of every creature, and found out one which was the most proper for his purpose, he again returns to Paradise; and, to avoid discovery, sinks by night with a river that ran under the garden, and rises up again through a fountain that issued[1] from it by the tree of life. The poet who, as we have before taken notice, speaks as little as possible in his own person, and, after the example of Homer, fills every part of his work with manners and characters, introduces a soliloquy of this infernal agent, who was thus restless in the destruction of man. He is then described as gliding through the garden under the resemblance of a mist, in order to find out that creature in which he designed to tempt our first parents. This description has something in it very poetical and surprising: —

> [2] So saying, through each thicket, dank or dry,
> Like a black mist low-creeping, he held on
> His midnight search, where soonest he might find
> The Serpent. Him fast sleeping soon he found,
> In labyrinth of many a round self-rolled,
> His head the midst, well stored with subtle wiles.

[1] First edition, 'run.'

[2] 9. 179–184.

The author afterwards gives us a description of the morning, which is wonderfully suitable to a divine poem, and peculiar to that first season of nature. He represents the earth, before it was cursed, as a great altar, breathing out its incense from all parts, and sending up a pleasant savor to the nostrils of its Creator; to which he adds a noble idea of Adam and Eve, as offering their morning worship, and filling up the universal concert[1] of praise and adoration: —

> [2] Now, whenas sacred light began to dawn
> In Eden on the humid flowers, that breathed
> Their morning incense, when all things that breathe
> From the Earth's great altar send up silent praise
> To the Creator, and his nostrils fill
> With grateful smell, forth came the human pair,
> And joined their vocal worship to the quire
> Of creatures wanting voice.

The dispute which follows between our two first parents is represented with great art. It proceeds[3] from a difference of judgment, not of passion, and is managed with reason, not with heat. It is such a dispute as we may suppose might have happened in Paradise, had man continued happy and innocent. There is a great delicacy in the moralities which are interspersed in Adam's discourse, and which the most ordinary reader cannot but take notice of. That force of love which the father of mankind so finely describes in the Eighth Book, and which is inserted in my last Saturday's paper, shows itself here in many fine[4] instances, as in those fond regards he casts towards Eve at her parting from him: —

> [5] Her long with ardent look his eye pursued
> Delighted, but desiring more her stay.

[1] Editions, 'consort.'
[2] 9. 192–199.
[3] First edition, 'arises.'
[4] First edition, 'beautiful' (Arber).
[5] 9. 397–401.

Oft he to her his charge of quick return
Repeated; she to him as oft engaged
To be returned by noon amid the bower.

In his impatience and amusement during her absence: —

[1] Adam, the while,
Waiting desirous her return, had wove
Of choicest flowers a garland, to adorn
Her tresses, and her rural labors crown,
As reapers oft are wont their harvest queen.
Great joy he promised to his thoughts, and new
Solace in her return, so long delayed.

But particularly in that passionate speech, where, seeing her irrecoverably lost, he resolves to perish with her, rather than to live without her: —

[2] Some cursed fraud
Of enemy hath beguiled thee, yet unknown,
And me with thee hath ruined; for with thee
Certain my resolution is to die.
How can I live without thee? How forgo
Thy sweet converse, and love so dearly joined,
To live again in these wild woods forlorn?
Should God create another Eve, and I
Another rib afford, yet loss of thee
Would never from my heart. No, no! I feel
The link of nature draw me: flesh of flesh,
Bone of my bone thou art, and from thy state
Mine never shall be parted, bliss or woe!

The beginning of this speech, and the preparation to it, are animated with the same spirit as the conclusion, which I have here quoted.

The several wiles which are put in practice by the tempter, when he found Eve separated from her husband, the many pleasing images of nature which are intermixed in this part of the story, with its gradual and regular prog-

[1] 9. 838–850. [2] 9. 904–916.

ress to the fatal catastrophe, are so very remarkable, that it would be superfluous to point out their respective [1] beauties.

I have avoided mentioning any particular similitudes in my remarks on this great work, because I have given a general account of them in my paper on the First Book. There is one, however, in this part of the poem which I shall here quote, as it is not only very beautiful, but the closest of any in the whole poem, — I mean that where the serpent is described as rolling forward in all his pride, animated by the evil spirit, and conducting Eve to her destruction, while Adam was at too great a distance from her to give her his assistance. These several particulars are all of them wrought into the following similitude : —

> [2] Hope elevates, and joy
> Brightens his crest. As when a wandering fire,
> Compact of unctuous vapor, which the night
> Condenses, and the cold environs round,
> Kindled through agitation to a flame,
> (Which oft, they say, some evil spirit attends),
> Hovering and blazing with delusive light,
> Misleads the amazed night-wanderer from his way
> To bogs and mires, and oft through pond or pool,
> There swallowed up and lost, from succor far.

That secret intoxication of pleasure, with all those transient flushings of guilt and joy, which the poet represents in our first parents upon their eating the forbidden fruit, to those [3] flaggings of spirit, damps of sorrow, and mutual accusations which succeed it, are conceived with a wonderful imagination, and described in very natural sentiments.

When Dido, in the Fourth Æneid, yielded to that fatal temptation which ruined her, Virgil tells us the earth

[1] First edition, 'several' (Arber).

[2] 9. 633–642.

[3] First edition, 'that.'

trembled, the heavens were filled with flashes of lightning, and the nymphs howled upon the mountain tops. Milton, in the same poetical spirit, has described all Nature as disturbed upon Eve's eating the forbidden fruit: —

[1] So saying, her rash hand in evil hour,
Forth-reaching to the fruit, she plucked, she eat.
Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat,
Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe
That all was lost.

Upon Adam's falling into the same guilt, the whole creation appears a second time in convulsions: —

[2] He scrupled not to eat,
Against his better knowledge, not deceived,
But fondly overcome with female charm.
Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan;
Sky loured, and, muttering thunder, some sad drops
Wept at completing of the mortal Sin.

As all nature suffered by the guilt of our first parents, these symptoms of trouble and consternation are wonderfully imagined, not only as prodigies, but as marks of her sympathizing in the Fall of Man.

Adam's converse with Eve, after having eaten the forbidden fruit, is an exact copy of that between Jupiter and Juno in the Fourteenth Iliad. Juno there approaches Jupiter with the girdle which she had received from Venus; upon which he tells her that she appeared more charming and desirable than she had ever[3] done before, even when their loves were at the highest. The poet afterwards describes them as reposing on a summit of Mount Ida, which produced under them a bed of flowers, the lotus, the crocus, and the hyacinth; and concludes his description with their falling asleep.

[1] 9. 780–784. [2] 9. 997–1003.
[3] For 'had ever,' the first edition has 'ever had.'

Let the reader compare this with the following passage in Milton, which begins with Adam's speech to Eve: —

[1] 'For never did thy beauty, since the day
I saw thee first, and wedded thee, adorned
With all perfections, so inflame my sense
With ardor to enjoy thee, fairer now
Than ever — bounty of this virtuous tree!'
So said he, and forbore not glance or toy
Of amorous intent, well understood
Of Eve, whose eye darted contagious fire.
Her hand he seized, and to a shady bank,
Thick overhead with verdant roof embowered,
He led her, nothing loth; flowers were the couch,
Pansies, and violets, and asphodel,
And hyacinth — Earth's freshest, softest lap.
There they their fill of love and love's disport
Took largely, of their mutual guilt the seal,
The solace of their sin, till dewy sleep
Oppressed them.

As no poet seems ever to have studied Homer more, or to have more[2] resembled him in the greatness of genius, than Milton, I think I should have given but a very imperfect account of his beauties if I had not observed the most remarkable passages which look like parallels in these two great authors. I might, in the course of these criticisms, have taken notice of many particular lines and expressions which are translated from the Greek poet, but as I thought this would have appeared too minute and over-curious, I have purposely omitted them. The greater incidents, however, are not only set off by being shown in the same light with several of the same nature in Homer, but by that means may be also guarded against the cavils of the tasteless or ignorant.

[1] 9. 1029–1045.
[2] First edition omits 'more' (Arber).

16.[1]

BOOK X.

Quis talia fando . . .
Temperet a lachrymis?[2] — VIRG. *Æn.* 2. 6–8.

Who can relate such woes without a tear?

THE Tenth Book of Paradise Lost has a greater variety of persons in it than any other in the whole poem. The author, upon the winding up of his action, introduces all those who had any concern in it, and shows with great beauty the influence which it had upon each of them. It is like the last act of a well-written tragedy, in which all who had a part in it are generally drawn up before the audience, and represented under those circumstances in which the determination of the action places them.

I shall, therefore, consider this book under four heads, in relation to the celestial, the infernal, the human, and the imaginary persons who have their respective parts allotted in it.

To begin with the celestial persons. The guardian angels of Paradise are described as returning to heaven upon the Fall of Man, in order to approve their vigilance. Their arrival, their manner of reception, with the sorrow which appeared in themselves and in those spirits who

[1] *Spectator*, No. 357, April 19, 1712.

[2] First edition, —

'Reddere personæ scit convenientia cuique. — HOR.'

which is translated in a later edition as, —

'He knows what best befits each character.' — See above, p. 14

are said to rejoice at the conversion of a sinner, are very finely laid together in the following lines: —

[1] Up into Heaven from Paradise in haste
The Angelic guards ascended, mute and sad
For Man; for of his state by this they knew,
Much wondering how the subtle Fiend had stolen
Entrance unseen. Soon as the unwelcome news
From earth arrived at Heaven-gate, displeased
All were who heard; dim sadness did not spare
That time celestial visages, yet, mixed
With pity, violated not their bliss.
About the new-arrived, in multitudes,
The Ethereal people ran, to hear and know
How all befell. They towards the throne supreme,
Accountable, made haste, to make appear,
With righteous plea, their utmost vigilance,
And easily approved; when the Most High,
Eternal Father, from his secret cloud
Amidst, in thunder uttered thus his voice.

The same Divine Person who, in the foregoing parts of this poem, interceded for our first parents before their fall, overthrew the rebel angels, and created the world, is now represented as descending to Paradise, and pronouncing sentence upon the three offenders. The cool of the evening being a circumstance with which Holy Writ introduces this great scene, it is poetically described by our author, who has also kept religiously to the form of words in which the three several sentences were passed upon Adam, Eve, and the serpent. He has rather chosen to neglect the numerousness of his verse than to deviate from those speeches which are recorded on this great occasion. The guilt and confusion of our first parents, standing naked before their judge, is touched with great beauty. Upon the arrival of Sin and Death into the

[1] 10. 17–33.

works of the creation, the Almighty is again introduced as speaking to His angels that surround Him : —

> [1] See with what heat these dogs of Hell advance
> To waste and havoc yonder World, which I
> So fair and good created, etc.

The following passage is formed upon that glorious image in Holy Writ, which compares the voice of an innumerable host of angels uttering hallelujahs to the voice of mighty thunderings, or of many waters : —

> [2] He ended, and the Heavenly audience loud
> Sung Halleluiah, as the sound of seas,
> Through multitude that sung : — 'Just are thy ways,
> Righteous are thy decrees on all thy works;
> Who can extenuate thee?'

Though the author, in the whole course of his poem, and particularly in the book we are now examining, has infinite allusions to places of Scripture, I have only taken notice in my remarks of such as are of a poetical nature, and which are woven with great beauty into the body of this[3] fable. Of this kind is that passage in the present book where, describing Sin and Death as marching through the works of Nature, he adds : —

> [4] Behind her Death,
> Close following pace for pace, not mounted yet
> On his pale horse.

Which alludes to that passage in Scripture so wonderfully poetical and terrifying to the imagination, 'And I looked, and behold a pale horse, and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him : and power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with sickness, and with

[1] 10. 616–618.
[2] 10. 641–645.
[3] First edition, 'the' (Arber).
[4] 10. 588–590.

the beasts of the earth.' Under the first head of celestial persons we must likewise take notice of the command which the angels received to produce the several changes in nature and sully the beauty of the creation. Accordingly they are represented as infecting the stars and planets with malignant influences, weakening the light of the sun, bringing down the winter into the milder regions of nature, planting winds and storms in several quarters of the sky, storing the clouds with thunder, and, in short, perverting the whole frame of the universe to the condition of its criminal inhabitants. As this is a noble incident in the poem, the following lines, in which we see the angels heaving up the earth, and placing it in a different posture to the sun from what it had before the Fall of Man, is conceived with that sublime imagination which was so peculiar to this great author: —

> [1] Some say he bid his Angels turn askance
> The poles of Earth twice ten degrees and more
> From the Sun's axle; they with labor pushed
> Oblique the centric Globe.

We are, in the second place, to consider the infernal agents under the view which Milton has given us of them in this book. It is observed, by those who would set forth the greatness of Virgil's plan, that he conducts his reader through all the parts of the earth which were discovered in his time. Asia, Afric, and Europe, are the several scenes of his fable. The plan of Milton's poem is of an infinitely greater extent, and fills the mind with many more astonishing circumstances. Satan, having surrounded the earth seven times, departs at length from Paradise. We then[2] see him steering his course among the constellations; and, after having traversed the whole creation,

[1] 10. 668–671.

[2] First edition, 'afterwards' (Arber).

pursuing his voyage through the chaos, and entering into his own infernal dominions.

His first appearance in the assembly of fallen angels is worked up with circumstances which give a delightful surprise to the reader; but there is no incident in the whole poem which does this more than the transformation of the whole audience, that follows the account their leader gives them of his expedition. The gradual change of Satan himself is described after Ovid's manner, and may vie with any of those celebrated transformations which are looked upon as the most beautiful parts in that poet's works. Milton never fails of improving his own hints, and bestowing the last finishing touches to every incident which is admitted into his poem. The unexpected hiss which arises in this episode, the dimensions and bulk of Satan (so much superior to those of the infernal spirits who lay under the same transformation), with the annual change which they are supposed to suffer, are instances of this kind. The beauty of the diction is very remarkable in this whole episode, as I have observed in the sixth paper of these my remarks the great judgment with which it was contrived.

The parts of Adam and Eve, or the human persons, come next under our consideration. Milton's art is nowhere more shown than in his conducting the parts of these our first parents. The representation he gives of them, without falsifying the story, is wonderfully contrived to influence the reader with pity and compassion towards them. Though Adam involves the whole species in misery, his crime proceeds from a weakness which every man is inclined to pardon and commiserate, as it seems rather the frailty of human nature than of the person who offended. Every one is apt to excuse a fault which he himself might have fallen into. It was the excess of love for Eve that ruined Adam and his posterity. I need not

add that the author is justified in this particular by many of the Fathers and the most orthodox writers. Milton has by this means filled a great part of his poem with that kind of writing which the French critics call the *tender*, and which is in a particular manner engaging to all sorts of readers.

Adam and Eve, in the book we are now considering, are likewise drawn with such sentiments as do not only interest the reader in their afflictions, but raise in him the most melting passions of humanity and commiseration. When Adam sees the several changes in nature produced about him, he appears in a disorder of mind suitable to one who had forfeited both his innocence and his happiness. He is filled with horror, remorse, despair; in the anguish of his heart he expostulates with his Creator for having given[1] him an unasked existence: —

[2] Did I request thee, Maker, from my clay
To mould me Man? Did I solicit thee
From darkness to promote me, or here place
In this delicious Garden? As my will
Concurred not to my being, it were but right
And equal to reduce me to my dust,
Desirous to resign and render back
All I received.

He immediately after recovers from his presumption, owns his doom to be just, and begs that the death which is threatened him may be inflicted on him: —

[3] Why delays
His hand to execute what his decree
Fixed on this day? Why do I overlive?
Why am I mocked with death, and lengthened out
To deathless pain? How gladly would I meet
Mortality, my sentence, and be earth

[1] For 'having given' the first edition has 'giving' (Arber).
[2] 10. 743–750. [3] 10. 771–782.

Insensible! how glad would lay me down
As in my mother's lap! There I should rest,
And sleep secure; his dreadful voice no more
Would thunder in my ears; no fear of worse
To me and to my offspring would torment me
With cruel expectation.

This whole speech is full of the like emotion, and varied with all those sentiments which we may suppose natural to a mind so broken and disturbed. I must not omit that generous concern which our first father shows in it for his posterity, and which is so proper to affect the reader: —

[1] Hide me from the face
Of God, whom to behold was then my highth
Of happiness! Yet well, if here would end
The misery! I deserved it, and would bear
My own deservings. But this will not serve:
All that I eat or drink, or shall beget,
Is propagated curse. O voice once heard
Delightfully, 'Increase and multiply;'
Now death to hear!

[2] In me all
Posterity stands cursed. Fair patrimony
That I must leave ye, sons! Oh, were I able
To waste it all myself, and leave ye none!
So disinherited, how would ye bless
Me, now your curse! Ah, why should all Mankind,
For one man's fault, thus guiltless be condemned?
If guiltless! But from me what can proceed
But all corrupt?

Who can afterwards behold the father of mankind, extended upon the earth, uttering his midnight complaints, bewailing his existence, and wishing for death, without sympathizing with him in his distress?

[1] 10. 723–731. [2] 10. 817–825.

[1] Thus Adam to himself lamented loud
Through the still night — not now, as ere Man fell,
Wholesome and cool and mild, but with black air
Accompanied, with damps and dreadful gloom;
Which to his evil conscience represented
All things with double terror. On the ground
Outstretched he lay, on the cold ground, and oft
Cursed his creation; Death as oft accused
Of tardy execution.

The part of Eve in this book is no less passionate and apt to sway the reader in her favor. She is represented with great tenderness as approaching Adam, but is spurned from him with a spirit of upbraiding and indignation conformable to the nature of man, whose passions had now gained the dominion over him. The following passage, wherein she is described as renewing her addresses to him, with the whole speech that follows it, have something in them exquisitely moving and pathetic: —

[2] He added not, and from her turned; but Eve,
Not so repulsed, with tears that ceased not flowing,
And tresses all disordered, at his feet
Fell humble, and, embracing them, besought
His peace, and thus proceeded in her plaint: —
'Forsake me not thus, Adam! witness Heaven
What love sincere and reverence in my heart
I bear thee, and unweeting have offended,
Unhappily deceived! Thy suppliant
I beg, and clasp thy knees; bereave me not
Whereon I live, thy gentle looks, thy aid,
Thy counsel in this uttermost distress,
My only strength and stay. Forlorn of thee,
Whither shall I betake me, where subsist?
While yet we live, scarce one short hour perhaps,
Between us two let there be peace,' etc.

Adam's reconcilement to her is worked up in the same spirit of tenderness. Eve afterwards proposes to her

[1] 10. 845–853. [2] 10. 909–924.

husband, in the blindness of her despair, that, to prevent their guilt from descending upon posterity, they should resolve to live childless; or, if that could not be done, they should seek their own deaths by violent methods. As those sentiments naturally engage the reader to regard the mother of mankind with more than ordinary commiseration, they likewise contain a very fine moral. The resolution of dying to end our miseries does not show such a degree of magnanimity as a resolution to bear them, and submit to the dispensations of Providence. Our author has, therefore, with great delicacy, represented Eve as entertaining this thought, and Adam as disapproving it.

We are in the last place to consider the imaginary persons, or Death and Sin,[1] who act a large part in this book. Such beautiful extended allegories are certainly some of the finest compositions of genius; but, as I have before observed, are not agreeable to the nature of an heroic poem. This of Sin and Death is very exquisite in its kind, if not considered as a part of such a work. The truths contained in it are so clear and open that I shall not lose time in explaining them, but shall only observe that a reader who knows the strength of the English tongue will be amazed to think how the poet could find such apt words and phrases to describe the actions[2] of those[3] two imaginary persons, and particularly in that part where Death is exhibited as forming a bridge over the chaos — a work suitable to the genius of Milton.

Since the subject I am upon gives me an opportunity of speaking more at large of such shadowy and imaginary persons as may be introduced into heroic poems, I shall

[1] For 'Death and Sin,' the first edition has 'Sin and Death.'

[2] First edition, 'action.'

[3] First edition, 'these' (Arber).

beg leave to explain myself in[1] a matter which is curious in its kind, and which none of the critics have treated of. It is certain Homer and Virgil are full of imaginary persons, who are very beautiful in poetry, when they are just shown without being engaged in any series of action. Homer, indeed, represents Sleep as a person, and ascribes a short part to him in his Iliad; but we must consider that though we now regard such a person as entirely shadowy and unsubstantial, the heathens made statues of him, placed him in their temples, and looked upon him as a real deity. When Homer makes use of other such allegorical persons, it is only in short expressions, which convey an ordinary thought to the mind in the most pleasing manner, and may rather be looked upon as poetical phrases than allegorical descriptions. Instead of telling us that men naturally fly when they are terrified, he introduces the persons of Flight and Fear, who, he tells us, are inseparable companions. Instead of saying that the time was come when Apollo ought to have received his recompense, he tells us that the Hours brought him his reward. Instead of describing the effects which Minerva's ægis produced in battle, he tells us that the brims of it were encompassed by Terror, Rout, Discord, Fury, Pursuit, Massacre, and Death. In the same figure of speaking he represents Victory as following Diomedes, Discord as the mother of funerals and mourning, Venus as dressed by the Graces, Bellona as wearing Terror and Consternation like a garment. I might give several other instances out of Homer, as well as a great many out of Virgil. Milton has likewise very often made use of the same way of speaking, as where he tells us that Victory sat on the right hand of the Messiah when he marched forth against the rebel angels; that at the rising of the

[1] First edition, 'on' (Arber).

sun the Hours unbarred the gates of light, that Discord was the daughter of Sin. Of the same nature are those expressions where, describing the singing of the nightingale, he adds, 'Silence was pleased'; and upon the Messiah's bidding peace to the chaos, 'Confusion heard his voice.' I might add innumerable[1] instances of our poet's writing in this beautiful figure. It is plain that these I have mentioned, in which persons of an imaginary nature are introduced, are such short allegories as are not designed to be taken in the literal sense, but only to convey particular circumstances to the reader after an unusual and entertaining manner. But when such persons are introduced as principal actors, and engaged in a series of adventures, they take too much upon them, and are by no means proper for an heroic poem, which ought to appear credible in its principal parts. I cannot forbear, therefore, thinking that Sin and Death are as improper agents in a work of this nature, as Strength and Necessity[2] in one of the tragedies of Æschylus, who represented those two persons nailing down Prometheus to a rock, for which he has been justly censured by the greatest critics. I do not know any imaginary person made use of in a more sublime manner of thinking than that in one of the prophets, who, describing God as descending from heaven and visiting the sins of mankind, adds that dreadful circumstance, 'Before him went the Pestilence.' It is certain this imaginary person might have been described in all her purple spots. The Fever might have marched before her, Pain might have stood at her right hand, Frenzy on her left, and Death in her rear. She might have been introduced as gliding down from the tail of a comet, or darted upon the earth in a flash of lightning. She might have tainted the atmosphere with her breath;

[1] First edition adds 'other' (Arber).

[2] First edition, 'Violence' (Arber).

the very glaring of her eyes might have scattered infection. But I believe every reader will think that in such sublime writings the mentioning of her, as it is done in Scripture, has something in it more just, as well as great, than all that the most fanciful poet could have bestowed upon her in the richness of his imagination.

17.[1]

BOOK XI.

Crudelis ubique
Luctus, ubique pavor, et plurima mortis imago.
— VIRG. *Æn.* 2. 368–369.

All parts resound with tumults, plaints, and fears,
And grisly Death in sundry shapes appears. — DRYDEN.

MILTON has shown a wonderful art in describing that variety of passions which arose in our first parents upon the breach of the commandment that had been given them. We see them gradually passing from the triumph of their guilt, through remorse, shame, despair, contrition, prayer, and hope, to a perfect and complete repentance. At the end of the Tenth Book they are represented as prostrating themselves upon the ground, and watering the earth with their tears; to which the poet joins this beautiful circumstance, that they offered up their penitential prayers on the very place where their judge appeared to them when he pronounced their sentence: —

[2] They, forthwith to the place
Repairing where he judged them, prostrate fell
Before him reverent, and both confessed
Humbly their faults, and pardon begged, with tears
Watering the ground.

[3] There is a beauty of the same kind in a tragedy of Sophocles, where Œdipus, after having put out his own

[1] *Spectator*, No. 363, April 26, 1712. [2] 10. 1098–1102.
[3] This paragraph added in the second edition.

eyes, instead of breaking his neck from the palace battlements, which furnishes so elegant an entertainment for our English audience, desires that he may be conducted to Mount Cithæron, in order to end his life in that very place where he was exposed in his infancy, and where he should then have died had the will of his parents been executed.

As the author never fails to give a poetical turn to his sentiments, he describes in the beginning of this book the acceptance which these their prayers met with, in a short allegory formed upon that beautiful passage in Holy Writ, 'And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne; and the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God': —

> [1] To Heaven their prayers
> Flew up, nor missed the way, by envious winds
> Blown vagabond or frustrate: in they passed
> Dimensionless through heavenly doors; then, clad
> With incense, where the golden altar fumed,
> By their great Intercessor, came in sight
> Before the Father's throne.

We have the same thought expressed a second time in the intercession of the Messiah, which is conceived in very emphatic sentiments and expressions.

Among the poetical parts of Scripture which Milton has so finely wrought into this part of his narration, I must not omit that wherein Ezekiel, speaking of the angels who appeared to him in a vision, adds that every one had four faces, and that their whole bodies, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings, were full of eyes round about: —

[1] II. 14–20.

[1] The cohort bright
Of watchful Cherubim. Four faces each
Had, like a double Janus; all their shape
Spangled with eyes.

The assembling of all the angels of heaven to hear the solemn decree passed upon man is represented in very lively ideas. The Almighty is here described as remembering mercy in the midst of judgment, and commanding Michael to deliver his message in the mildest terms, lest the spirit of man, which was already broken with the sense of his guilt and misery, should fail before him : —

[2] Yet, lest they faint
At the sad sentence rigorously urged
(For I behold them softened, and with tears
Bewailing their excess), all terror hide.

The conference of Adam and Eve is full of moving sentiments. Upon their going abroad, after the melancholy night which they had passed together, they discover the lion and the eagle, pursuing each of them their prey towards the eastern gates of Paradise. There is a double beauty in this incident, not only as it presents great and just omens, which are always agreeable in poetry, but as it expresses that enmity which was now produced in the animal creation. The poet, to show the like changes in Nature, as well as to grace his fable with a noble prodigy, represents the sun in an eclipse. This particular incident has likewise a fine effect upon the imagination of the reader in regard to what follows ; for at the same time that the sun is under an eclipse, a bright cloud descends in the western quarter of the heavens filled with a host of angels, and more luminous than the sun itself. The whole theatre of Nature is darkened, that this glorious machine may appear in all its lustre and magnificence : —

[1] II. 127–130. [2] II. 108–111.

[1] 'Why in the east
Darkness ere day's mid-course, and morning-light
More orient in yon western cloud, that draws
O'er the blue firmament a radiant white,
And slow descends, with something Heavenly fraught?'
He erred not; for, by this, the Heavenly bands
Down from a sky of jasper lighted now
In Paradise, and on a hill made halt —
A glorious apparition.

I need not observe how properly this author, who always suits his parts to the actors whom he introduces, has employed Michael in the expulsion of our first parents from Paradise. The archangel on this occasion neither appears in his proper shape nor in that familiar manner with which Raphael, the sociable spirit, entertained the father of mankind before the Fall. His person, his port and behavior are suitable to a spirit of the highest rank, and exquisitely described in the following passage: —

[2] The Archangel soon drew nigh,
Not in his shape celestial, but as man
Clad to meet man. Over his lucid arms
A military vest of purple flowed,
Livelier than Melibœan, or the grain
Of Sarra, worn by kings and heroes old,
In time of truce; Iris had dipt the woof.
His starry helm unbuckled showed him prime
In manhood where youth ended; by his side,
As in a glistering zodiac, hung the sword,
Satan's dire dread, and in his hand the spear.
Adam bowed low; he, kingly, from his state
Inclined not, but his coming thus declared.

Eve's complaint, upon hearing that she was to be removed from the garden of Paradise, is wonderfully beautiful. The sentiments are not only proper to the subject, but have something in them particularly soft and womanish: —

[1] II. 203–211. [2] II. 238–250.

[1] Must I thus leave thee, Paradise? Thus leave
Thee, native soil? these happy walks and shades,
Fit haunt of Gods, where I had hoped to spend,
Quiet, though sad, the respite of that day
That must be mortal to us both? O flowers,
That never will in other climate grow,
My early visitation, and my last
At even, which I bred up with tender hand
From the first opening bud, and gave ye names,
Who now shall rear ye to the Sun, or rank
Your tribes, and water from the ambrosial fount?
Thee, lastly, nuptial bower, by me adorned
With what to sight or smell was sweet, from thee
How shall I part, and whither wander down
Into a lower world, to this obscure
And wild? How shall we breathe in other air
Less pure, accustomed to immortal fruits?

Adam's speech abounds with thoughts which are equally moving, but of a more masculine and elevated turn. Nothing can be conceived more sublime and poetical than the following passage in it:—

[2] This most afflicts me — that, departing hence,
As from his face I shall be hid, deprived
His blessed countenance. Here I could frequent,
With worship, place by place where he voutsafed
Presence Divine, and to my sons relate,
'On this mount He appeared, under this tree
Stood visible; among these pines his voice
I heard; here with him at this fountain talked.'
So many grateful altars I would rear
Of grassy turf, and pile up every stone
Of lustre from the brook, in memory
Or monument to ages, and thereon
Offer sweet-smelling gums, and fruits, and flowers.
In yonder nether world where shall I seek
His bright appearances, or footstep[3] trace?

[1] II. 269–285. [2] II. 315–333.
[3] The editions have 'footsteps.'

For, though I fled him angry, yet, recalled
To life prolonged and promised race, I now
Gladly behold though but his utmost skirts
Of glory, and far off his steps adore.

The angel afterwards leads Adam to the highest mount of Paradise, and lays before him a whole hemisphere, as a proper stage for those visions which were to be represented on it. I have before observed how the plan of Milton's poem is, in many particulars, greater than that of the Iliad or Æneid. Virgil's hero, in the last of these poems, is entertained with a sight of all those who are to descend from him; but though that episode is justly admired as one of the noblest designs in the whole Æneid, every one must allow that this of Milton is of a much higher nature. Adam's vision is not confined to any particular tribe of mankind, but extends to the whole species.

In this great review which Adam takes of all his sons and daughters, the first objects he is presented with exhibit to him the story of Cain and Abel, which is drawn together with much closeness and propriety of expression. That curiosity and natural horror which arises in Adam at the sight of the first dying man is touched with great beauty: —

[1] But have I now seen Death? Is this the way
I must return to native dust? O sight
Of terror, foul and ugly to behold!
Horrid to think, how horrible to feel!

The second vision sets before him the image of Death in a great variety of appearances. The angel, to give him a general idea of those effects which his guilt had brought upon his posterity, places before him a large hospital, or lazar-house, filled with persons lying under all kinds of mortal diseases. How finely has the poet

[1] XI. 462–465.

told us that the sick persons languished under lingering and incurable distempers, by an apt and judicious use of such imaginary beings as those I mentioned in my last Saturday's paper! —

[1] Dire was the tossing, deep the groans; Despair
Tended the sick, busiest from couch to couch;
And over them triumphant Death his dart
Shook, but delayed to strike, though oft invoked
With vows, as their chief good and final hope.

The passion which likewise rises in Adam on this occasion is very natural: —

[2] Sight so deform what heart of rock could long
Dry-eyed behold? Adam could not, but wept,
Though not of woman born: compassion quelled
His best of man, and gave him up to tears.

The discourse between the Angel and Adam which follows abounds with noble morals.

As there is nothing more delightful in poetry than a contrast and opposition of incidents, the author, after this melancholy prospect of death and sickness, raises up a scene of mirth, love, and jollity. The secret pleasure that steals into Adam's heart, as he is intent upon this vision, is imagined with great delicacy. I must not omit the description of the loose female troop, who seduced the sons of God, as they are called in Scripture: —

[3] For that female troop thou saw'st, that seemed
Of goddesses, so blithe, so smooth, so gay,
Yet empty of all good wherein consists
Woman's domestic honor and chief praise;
Bred only and completed to the taste
Of lustful appetence, to sing, to dance,
To dress, and troll the tongue, and roll the eye; —
To these that sober race of men, whose lives

[1] II. 489–493. [2] II. 494–497. [3] II. 614–625.

> Religious titled them the Sons of God,
> Shall yield up all their virtue, all their fame,
> Ignobly, to the trains and to the smiles
> Of these fair atheists.

The next vision is of a quite contrary nature, and filled with the horrors of war. Adam at the sight of it melts into tears, and breaks out in that passionate speech: —

> [1] Oh, what are these?
> Death's ministers, not men! who thus deal death
> Inhumanly to men, and multiply
> Ten thousandfold the sin of him who slew
> His brother; for of whom such massacre
> Make they but of their brethren, men of men?

Milton, to keep up an agreeable variety in his visions, after having raised in the mind of his reader the several ideas of terror which are conformable to the description of war, passes on to those softer images of triumphs and festivals, in that vision of lewdness and luxury which ushers in the Flood.

As it is visible that the poet had his eye upon Ovid's account of the universal deluge, the reader may observe with how much judgment he has avoided everything that is redundant or puerile in the Latin poet. We do not here see the wolf swimming among the sheep, nor any of those wanton imaginations which Seneca found fault with, as unbecoming the [2] great catastrophe of nature. If our poet has imitated that verse in which Ovid tells us that there was nothing but sea, and that this sea had no shore to it, he has not set the thought in such a light as to incur the censure which critics have passed upon it. The latter part of that verse in Ovid is idle and superfluous, but just and beautiful in Milton: —

[1] XI. 675–680.
[2] First edition, 'this.'

Jamque mare et tellus nullum discrimen habebant;
Nil nisi pontus erat; deerant quoque littora ponto.[1]

[2] Sea covered sea,
Sea without shore.

In Milton the former part of the description does not forestall the latter. How much more great and solemn on this occasion is that which follows in our English poet —

[3] And in their palaces,
Where luxury late reigned, sea-monsters whelped
And stabled —

than that in Ovid, where we are told that the sea-calves[4] lay in those places where the goats were used to browse! The reader may find several other parallel passages in the Latin and English description of the Deluge, wherein our poet has visibly the advantage. The sky's being overcharged with clouds, the descending of the rains, the rising of the seas, and the appearance of the rainbow, are such descriptions as every one must take notice of. The circumstance relating to Paradise is so finely imagined, and suitable to the opinions of many learned authors, that I cannot forbear giving it a place in this paper: —

[5] Then shall this Mount
Of Paradise, by might of waves be moved
Out of his place, pushed by the horned flood,
With all his verdure spoiled, and trees adrift,
Down the great river to the opening Gulf,
And there take root, an island salt and bare,
The haunt of seals, and orcs, and sea-mews' clang.

The transition which the poet makes from the vision of the Deluge to the concern it occasioned in Adam is

[1] The editions add 'Ovid.'

[2] II. 749–750; the original editions have 'Milton' following the quotations.

[3] II. 750–752.

[4] Originals, 'calfs.'

[5] II. 829–835.

exquisitely graceful, and copied after Virgil, though the first thought it introduces is rather in the spirit of Ovid : —

> [1] How didst thou grieve then, Adam, to behold
> The end of all thy offspring, end so sad,
> Depopulation! Thee another flood,
> Of tears and sorrow a flood thee also drowned,
> And sunk thee as thy sons; till, gently reared
> By the Angel, on thy feet thou stood'st at last,
> Though comfortless, as when a father mourns
> His children, all in view destroyed at once.

I have been the more particular in my quotations out of the Eleventh Book of Paradise Lost, because it is not generally reckoned among the most shining books of this poem; for which reason the reader might be apt to overlook those many passages in it which deserve our admiration. The Eleventh and Twelfth are indeed built upon that single circumstance of the removal of our first parents from Paradise; but though this is not in itself so great a subject as that in most of the foregoing books, it is extended and diversified with so many surprising incidents and pleasing episodes, that these two last books can by means be looked upon as unequal parts of this divine poem. I must further add that, had not Milton represented our first parents as driven out of Paradise, his Fall of Man would not have been complete, and consequently his action would have been imperfect.

[1] II. 754–761.

18.[1]

BOOK XII.

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.
— Hor. *Ars Poet.* 180–181.

—What we hear moves less than what we see. — Roscommon.

MILTON, after having represented in vision the history of mankind to the first great period of Nature, despatches the remaining part of it in narration. He has devised a very handsome reason for the angel's proceeding with Adam after this manner; though, doubtless, the true reason was the difficulty which the poet would have found to have shadowed out so mixed and complicated a story in visible objects. I could wish, however, that the author had done it, whatever pains it might have cost him. To give my opinion freely, I think that the exhibiting part of the history of mankind in vision, and part in narrative, is as if an history-painter should put in colors one half of his subject, and write down the remaining part of it. If Milton's poem flags anywhere, it is in this narration, where in some places the author has been so attentive to his divinity that he has neglected his poetry. The narration, however, rises very happily on several occasions where the subject is capable of poetical ornaments, as particularly in the confusion which he describes among the builders of Babel, and in his short

[1] *Spectator*, No. 369, May 3, 1712.

sketch of the plagues of Egypt. The storm of hail and fire, with the darkness that overspread the land for three days, are described with great strength. The beautiful passage which follows is raised upon noble hints in Scripture: —

[1] Thus with ten wounds
The river-dragon tamed at length submits
To let his sojourners depart, and oft
Humbles his stubborn heart, but still as ice,
More hardened after thaw; till, in his rage
Pursuing whom he late dismissed, the sea
Swallows him with his host, but them lets pass,
As on dry land, between two crystal walls,
Awed by the rod of Moses so to stand
Divided.

The river-dragon is an allusion to the crocodile, which inhabits the Nile, from whence Egypt derives her plenty. This allusion is taken from that sublime passage in Ezekiel: 'Thus saith the Lord God, Behold I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself.' Milton has given us another very noble and poetical image in the same description, which is copied almost word for word out of the history of Moses: —

[2] All night he will pursue, but his approach
Darkness defends between till morning-watch;
Then through the fiery pillar and the cloud
God looking forth will trouble all his host,
And craze their chariot wheels: when, by command,
Moses once more his potent rod extends
Over the sea; the sea his rod obeys;
On their embattled ranks the waves return,
And overwhelm their war.

[1] 12. 190–199. [2] 12. 206–214.

As the principal design of this episode was to give Adam an idea of the Holy Person who was to reinstate human nature in that happiness and perfection from which it had fallen, the poet confines himself to the line of Abraham, from whence the Messiah was to descend. The angel is described as seeing the patriarch actually traveling towards the land of promise, which gives a particular liveliness to this part of the narration: —

[1] I see him, but thou canst not, with what faith
He leaves his gods, his friends, and native soil,
Ur of Chaldæa, passing now the ford
To Haran — after him a cumbrous train
Of herds and flocks, and numerous servitude —
Not wandering poor, but trusting all his wealth
With God, who called him, in a land unknown.
Canaan he now attains; I see his tents
Pitched about Sechem, and the neighboring plain
Of Moreh. There, by promise, he receives
Gift to his progeny of all that land,
From Hamath northward to the Desert south
(Things by their names I call, though yet unnamed).

As Virgil's vision in the Sixth Æneid probably gave Milton the hint of this whole episode, the last line is a translation of that verse where Anchises mentions the names of places, which they were to bear hereafter: —

Hæc tum nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terræ.

The poet has very finely represented the joy and gladness of heart which rises in Adam upon his discovery of the Messiah. As he sees His day at a distance through types and shadows, he rejoices in it; but when he finds the redemption of man completed, and Paradise again renewed, he breaks forth in rapture and transport: —

[2] O Goodness infinite, Goodness immense,
That all this good of evil shall produce, etc.

[1] 12. 128–140. [2] 12. 469–470.

I have hinted, in my sixth paper on Milton, that an heroic poem, according to the opinion of the best critics, ought to end happily, and leave the mind of the reader, after having conducted it through many doubts and fears, sorrows and disquietudes, in a state of tranquillity and satisfaction. Milton's fable, which had so many other qualifications to recommend it, was deficient in this particular. It is here, therefore, that the poet has shown a most exquisite judgment, as well as the finest invention, by finding out a method to supply this natural defect in his subject. Accordingly he leaves the adversary of mankind, in the last view which he gives us of him, under the lowest state of mortification and disappointment. We see him chewing ashes, groveling in the dust, and loaden with supernumerary pains and torments. On the contrary, our two first parents are comforted by dreams and visions, cheered with promises of salvation, and in a manner raised to a greater happiness than that which they had forfeited. In short, Satan is represented miserable in the height of his triumphs, and Adam triumphant in the height of misery.

Milton's poem ends very nobly. The last speeches of Adam and the archangel are full of moral and instructive sentiments. The sleep that fell upon Eve, and the effects it had in quieting the disorders of her mind, produces the same kind of consolation in the reader, who cannot peruse the last beautiful speech, which is ascribed to the mother of mankind, without a secret pleasure and satisfaction: —

> [1] Whence thou return'st and whither went'st I know;
> For God is also in sleep, and dreams advise,
> Which he hath sent propitious, some great good
> Presaging, since, with sorrow and heart's distress
> Wearied, I fell asleep. But now lead on;
> In me is no delay; with thee to go

[1] 12. 610–623.

Is to stay here; without thee here to stay
Is to go hence unwilling; thou to me
Art all things under Heaven, all places thou,
Who for my wilful crime art banished hence.
This further consolation yet secure
I carry hence: though all by me is lost,
Such favor I unworthy am voutsafed,
By me the Promised Seed shall all restore.

The following lines, which conclude the poem, rise in a most glorious blaze of poetical images and expressions.

Heliodorus, in his Æthiopics, acquaints us that the motion of the gods differs from that of mortals, as the former do not stir their feet, nor proceed step by step, but slide over the surface of the earth by an uniform swimming of the whole body. The reader may observe with how poetical a description Milton has attributed the same kind of motion to the angels who were to take possession of Paradise: —

[1] So spake our mother Eve; and Adam heard
Well pleased, but answered not; for now too nigh
The Archangel stood, and from the other hill
To their fixed station, all in bright array,
The Cherubim descended, on the ground
Gliding meteorous, as evening mist
Risen from a river o'er the marish glides,
And gathers ground fast at the laborer's heel
Homeward returning. High in front advanced,
The brandished sword of God before them blazed,
Fierce as a comet.

The author helped his invention in the following passage by reflecting on the behavior of the angel who in Holy Writ has the conduct of Lot and his family. The circumstances drawn from that relation are very gracefully made use of on this occasion: —

[1] 12. 624–634.

[1] In either hand the hastening Angel caught
Our lingering parents, and to the eastern gate
Led them direct, and down the cliff as fast
To the subjected plain — then disappeared.
They, looking back, etc.

The scene[2] which our first parents are surprised with upon their looking back on Paradise wonderfully strikes the reader's imagination, as nothing can be more natural than the tears they shed on that occasion: —

[3] They, looking back, all the eastern side beheld
Of Paradise, so late their happy seat,
Waved over by that flaming brand; the gate
With dreadful faces thronged and fiery arms.
Some natural tears they dropped, but wiped them soon;
The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.

If I might presume to offer at the smallest alteration in this divine work, I should think the poem would end better with the passage here quoted than with the two verses which follow: —

[4] They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.

These two verses, though they have their beauty, fall very much below the foregoing passage, and renew in the mind of the reader that anguish which was pretty well laid by that consideration: —

[5] The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.

The number of books in Paradise Lost is equal to those of the Æneid. Our author in his first edition had divided his poem into ten books, but afterwards broke the seventh

[1] 12. 637–641.
[2] First edition, 'prospect.'
[3] 12. 641–647.
[4] 12. 648–649.
[5] 12. 646–647.

and the eleventh each of them into two different books by the help of some small additions. This second division was made with great judgment, as any one may see who will be at the pains of examining it. It was not done for the sake of such a chimerical beauty as that of resembling Virgil in this particular, but for the more just and regular disposition of this great work.

Those who have read Bossu, and many of the critics who have written since his time, will not pardon me if I do not find out the particular moral which is inculcated in Paradise Lost. Though I can by no means think, with the last-named French author, that an epic writer first of all pitches upon a certain moral as the groundwork and foundation of his poem, and afterwards finds out a story to it, I am, however, of opinion that no just heroic poem ever was or can be made, from whence one great moral may not be deduced. That which reigns in Milton is the most universal and most useful that can be imagined. It is, in short, this, that obedience to the will of God makes men happy, and that disobedience makes them miserable. This is visibly the moral of the principal fable, which turns upon Adam and Eve, who continued in Paradise while they kept the command that was given them, and were driven out of it as soon as they had transgressed. This is likewise the moral of the principal episode, which shows us how an innumerable multitude of angels fell from their state of bliss, and were cast into hell upon their disobedience. Besides this great moral, which may be looked upon as the soul of the fable, there are an infinity of under-morals which are to be drawn from the several parts of the poem, and which makes[1] this work more useful and instructive than any other poem in any language.

[1] First edition, 'make' (Arber).

Those who have criticized on the Odyssey, the Iliad, and Æneid, have taken a great deal of pains to fix the number of months and[1] days contained in the action of each of these poems. If any one thinks it worth his while to examine this particular in Milton, he will find that from Adam's first appearance in the fourth book to his expulsion from Paradise in the twelfth the author reckons ten days. As for that part of the action which is described in the three first books, as it does not pass within the regions of Nature, I have before observed that it is not subject to any calculations of time.

I have now finished my observations on a work which does an honor to the English nation. I have taken a general view of it under these four heads — the fable, the characters, the sentiments, and the language, and made each of them the subject of a particular paper. I have in the next place spoken of the censures which our author may incur under each of these heads, which I have confined to two papers, though I might have enlarged the number if I had been disposed to dwell on so ungrateful a subject. I believe, however, that the severest reader will not find any little fault in heroic poetry, which this author has fallen into, that does not come under one of those heads among which I have distributed his several blemishes. After having thus treated at large of Paradise Lost, I could not think it sufficient to have celebrated this poem in the whole without descending to particulars. I have, therefore, bestowed a paper upon each book, and endeavored not only to prove[2] that the poem is beautiful in general, but to point out its particular beauties, and to determine wherein they consist. I have endeavored to show how some passages are beautiful by being sublime, others by being soft, others by being natural; which of

[1] First edition, 'or' (Arber).

[2] First edition, 'show.'

them are recommended by the passion, which by the moral, which by the sentiment, and which by the expression. I have likewise[1] endeavored to show how the genius of the poet shines by a happy invention, a distant allusion, or a judicious imitation; how he has copied or improved Homer or Virgil, and raised his own imaginations by the use which he has made of several poetical passages in Scripture. I might have inserted also[1] several passages of Tasso, which our author has[2] imitated; but, as I do not look upon Tasso to be a sufficient voucher, I would not perplex my reader with such quotations as might do more honor to the Italian than the English poet. In short, I have endeavored to particularize those innumerable kinds of beauty which it would be tedious to recapitulate, but which are essential to poetry, and which may be met with in the works of this great author. Had I thought at my first engaging in this design that it would have led me to so great a length, I believe I should never have entered upon it; but the kind reception which it has met with among those whose judgment I have a value for, as well as the uncommon demands which my bookseller tells me have been made for these particular discourses, give me no reason to repent of the pains I have been at in composing them.

[1] Added in second edition.

[2] First edition adds 'likewise.'

NOTES.

NOTES.

1 1 ff. The announcement of these papers was made by Addison at the close of *Spectator*, No. 262, Dec. 31, 1711, in the following words: "As the first place among our English poets is due to Milton, and as I have drawn more quotations out of him than from any other, I shall enter into a regular criticism upon his *Paradise Lost*, which I shall publish every Saturday till I have given my thoughts upon that poem. I shall not, however, presume to impose upon others my own particular judgment on this author, but only deliver it as my private opinion. Criticism is of a very large extent, and every particular master in this art has his favorite passages in an author, which do not equally strike the best judges. It will be sufficient for me if I discover many beauties or imperfections which others have not attended to, and I should be very glad to see any of our eminent writers publish their discoveries on the same subject. In short, I would always be understood to write my papers of criticism in the spirit which Horace has expressed in those two famous lines:

Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.

'If you have made any better remarks of your own, communicate them with candor; if not, make use of these I present you with.'"

Though Addison thus ranked Milton as the first of English poets, he gives Shakespeare a position in the first rank of great geniuses and Milton in the second (*Spectator*, No. 160, Sept. 3, 1711): "There is another kind of great geniuses which I shall place in a second class, not as I think them inferior to the first, but only for distinction's sake, as they are of a different kind. This second class of great geniuses are those that have formed themselves by rules, and submitted the greatness of their natural talents to the corrections and restraints of art. Such among the Greeks were Plato and Aristotle; among the Romans, Virgil and Tully; among the English, Milton and Sir Francis Bacon."

Sixteen years before, when he was not quite twenty-two years of

age. Addison had thus expressed his judgment upon Milton, in *An Account of the Greatest English Poets* (April 3, 1694):

> But Milton next, with high and haughty stalks,
> Unfettered in majestic numbers walks;
> No vulgar hero can his muse engage,
> Nor earth's wide scene confine his hallowed rage.
> See, see! he upward springs, and, towering high,
> Spurns the dull province of mortality,
> Shakes heaven's eternal throne with dire alarms,
> And sets the Almighty Thunderer in arms.
> Whate'er his pen describes I more than see,
> Whilst every verse, arrayed in majesty,
> Bold and sublime, my whole attention draws,
> And seems above the critic's nicer laws.
> How are you struck with terror and delight
> When angel with archangel copes in fight!
> When great Messiah's outspread banner shines
> How does the chariot rattle in his lines!
> What sounds of brazen wheels, what thunder, scare
> And stun the reader with the din of war!
> With fear my spirits and my blood retire
> To see the seraphs sunk in clouds of fire;
> But when with eager steps from hence I rise,
> And view the first gay scenes of Paradise,
> What tongue, what words of rapture, can express
> A vision so profuse of pleasantness!
> O had the poet ne'er profaned his pen
> To varnish o'er the work of faithless men,
> His other works might have deserved applause;
> But now the language can't support the cause;
> While the clean current, though serene and bright,
> Betrays a bottom odious to the sight.

In the *Spectator* for June 28, 1712 (No. 417), Addison says, discoursing of the imagination: "If I were to name a poet that is a perfect master in all these arts of working on the imagination, I think Milton may pass for one; and if his *Paradise Lost* falls short of the *Iliad* or *Aeneid* in this respect, it proceeds rather from the fault of the language in which it is written than from any defect of genius in the author. So divine a poem in English is like a stately palace built of brick, where one may see architecture in as great a perfection as in one of marble, though the materials are of a coarser nature. But to consider it only as it regards our present subject, what can be conceived greater than the battle of angels, the majesty of Messiah, the stature

and behavior of Satan and his peers? What more beautiful than Pandemonium, Paradise, Heaven, Angels, Adam and Eve? What more strange than the creation of the world, the several metamorphoses of the fallen angels, and the surprising adventures their leader meets with in his search after Paradise? No other subject could have furnished a poet with scenes so proper to strike the imagination, as no other poet could have painted those scenes in more strong and lively colors." In contrast with these strictures on the English language, see the latter part of Matthew Arnold's essay on Milton, and De Quincey's remarks in his article on *Schlosser's Literary History of the Eighteenth Century.*

For Addison's general plan in these criticisms see 155 13–156 16.

1 5. Cf. Dryden, *Discourse on Satire:* "As for Mr. Milton, whom we all admire with so much justice, his subject is not that of an heroic poem, properly so called. His design is the losing of our happiness; his event is not prosperous, like that of all other epic works; his heavenly machines are many, and human persons are but two. But I will not take Mr. Rymer's work out of his hands; he has promised the world a critique on that author, wherein, though he will not allow his poem for heroic, I hope he will grant us that his thoughts are elevated, his words sounding, and that no man has so happily copied the manner of Homer, or so copiously translated his Grecisms and the Latin elegances of Virgil. It is true he runs into a flat thought, sometimes for a hundred lines together, but it is when he is got into a track of Scripture. His antiquated words were his choice, not his necessity; for therein he imitated Spenser, as Spenser did Chaucer. And though perhaps the love of their masters may have transported both too far in the frequent use of them, yet in my opinion obsolete words may then be laudably revived when either they are more sounding or more significant than those in practice, and when their obscurity is taken away by joining other words to them which clear the sense — according to the rule of Horace for the admission of new words. But in both cases a moderation is to be observed in the use of them; for unnecessary coinage, as well as unnecessary revival, runs into affectation — a fault to be avoided on either hand. Neither will I justify Milton for this blank verse, though I may excuse him by the example of Hannibal Caro and other Italians who have used it; for whatever causes he alleges for the abolishing of rime (which I have not now the leisure to examine), his own particular reason is plainly this — that rime was not his talent; he had neither the ease of doing it nor the graces of it; which is manifest in his *Juvenilia* or verses written in his youth, where

his rime is always constrained and forced, and comes hardly from him at an age when the soul is most pliant, and the passion of love makes almost every man a rimer, though not a poet."

2 1. *Rules of epic poetry.* That Milton would not have declined to be judged by these rules is evident from a passage of his tractate *On Education*, in which he speaks of the teaching of "those organic arts, which enable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fittest style, of lofty, mean, or lowly." After mentioning logic and rhetoric, he continues: "To which poetry would be made subsequent, or indeed rather precedent, as being less subtile and fine, but more simple, sensuous, and passionate. I mean not here the prosody of a verse, which they could not but have hit on before among the rudiments of grammar, but that sublime art which in Aristotle's *Poetics*, in Horace, and the Italian commentaries of Castelvetro, Tasso, Mazzoni, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true epic poem, what of a dramatic, what of a lyric, what decorum is, which is the grand masterpiece to observe. This would make them soon perceive what despicable creatures our common rimers and playwriters be, and show them what religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of poetry, both in divine and human things. From hence, and not till now, will be the right season of forming them to be able writers and composers in every excellent matter, when they shall be thus fraught with an universal insight into things."

The rules of epic poetry constitute a treatise on what Matthew Arnold calls *architectonics* (Essay on Milton): "Justice is not at present done, in my opinion, to Milton's management of the inevitable matter of a Puritan epic, a matter full of difficulties for a poet. Justice is not done to the *architectonics*, as Goethe would have called them, of *Paradise Lost;* in these, too, the power of Milton's art is remarkable. But this may be a proposition which requires discussion and development for establishing it." Such discussion and development Addison had already provided.

2 1–11. In *A French Critic on Milton*, Matthew Arnold quotes most of this passage, and adds: "The patient whom Addison thus doctors will reply that he does not care two straws whether the action of *Paradise Lost* satisfies the proposed test or no, if the poem does not give him pleasure. The truth is, Addison's criticism rests on certain conventions: namely, that incidents of a certain class *must* awaken keen interest; that sentiments of a certain kind *must* raise melting passions; that language of a certain strain, and an action with certain qualifications, *must* render a poem attractive and effective. Disregard

the convention; ask solely whether the incidents *do* interest, whether the sentiments *do* move, whether the poem *is* attractive and effective, and Addison's criticism collapses."

2 2. Jebb, *Introduction to Homer*, pp. 18–19: "It was once a commonplace of criticism to compare Homer with the great literary epics as if they were works of the same order. Dryden's lines are famous. . . . Addison, again, compares the *Iliad*, the *Æneid*, and *Paradise Lost* in respect of plot, characters, sentiments, and language, — without indicating any sense of the generic difference which separates the *Iliad* from the other two. To ignore this difference, however, is even more unjust to Virgil and to Milton than it is to Homer. The epic poet in a literary age cannot escape from his age, and the primary condition of justly estimating his poetry is to recognize that it is *not* a voice from the primitive world; but then he has a task of his own, such as was not laid on the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; he has to deal with great masses of more or less intractable materials, — to select from them, — to organize the selected parts, — and to animate them with a vital breath; he has, in poetry, a constructive function analogous to that which, in prose, is performed by a Livy or a Gibbon; and who does not know with what marvelous power this task has been achieved — in different modes and in different degrees — by the genius of Virgil, of Dante, and of Milton? Then, towards the close of the last century, the origin of the Homeric poems began to be critically discussed, — and the new tendency was to make an assumption exactly opposite to that on which Addison's criticism rested."

2 4–9. Aristotle, *Poetics* 6. 14: "The fable, then, is the principal part — the soul, as it were — of tragedy, and the manners are next in rank." *Poetics* 23. 1: "With respect to that species of poetry which imitates by narration and in hexameter verse, it is obvious that the fable ought to be dramatically constructed, like that of tragedy, and that it should have for its subject one entire and perfect action, having a beginning, a middle, and an end."

2 12. *Horace. Art of Poetry* 148.

2 13. *Leda's egg*. Horace, *Art of Poetry* 147.

2 16 ff. Aristotle, *Poetics* 23. 3: "Even in this, therefore, as we have before observed, the superiority of Homer's genius is apparent — that he did not attempt to bring the whole war, though an entire action with beginning and end, into his poem. It would have been too vast an object, and not easily comprehended in one view; or had he forced it into a moderate compass, it would have been perplexed by its variety. Instead of this, selecting one part only of the war, he has from the

rest introduced many episodes — such as the catalogue of the ships, and others — by which he has diversified his poem." See also note on 6 5 ff., and Vida's *Art of Poetry* 2. 98–123.

2 32 ff. Cf. 86 28 ff.

3 10–14. *Poetics* 26. 6: "Further, there is less unity in all epic imitation, as appears from this — that any epic poem will furnish matter for several tragedies. For supposing the poet to choose a fable strictly one, the consequence must be either that his poem, if proportionably contracted, will appear curtailed and defective, or, if extended to the usual length, will become weak, and, as it were, diluted. If, on the other hand, we suppose him to employ several fables — that is, a fable composed of several actions — his imitation is no longer strictly one. The *Iliad*, for example, and the *Odyssey* contain many such subordinate parts, each of which has a certain magnitude and unity of its own; yet is the construction of those poems as perfect, and as nearly approaching to the imitation of a single action, as possible."

4 4. *The Spanish Friar, or the Double Discovery.* A play of Dryden's. Of it Johnson says in his *Life of Dryden*: "*The Spanish Friar* (1681) is a tragicomedy, eminent for the happy coincidence and coalition of the two plots." See Scott's remarks in the Scott-Saintsbury edition of Dryden, 1. 190–195, and Ward, *Eng. Dram. Lit.* 2. 518, note.

4 8 ff. See note on 2 4–9.

5 11. *Book of Games. Iliad*, Bk. 23; *Æneid*, Bk. 5.

5 13. *Simile. Æn.* 7. 378–384. See Vida's criticisms in his *Art of Poetry* 2. 282–303.

5 25. *Poetics* 7. 4. The word translated 'animal' may mean 'image' or 'picture.' Cf. the definitions of ζῷον in the Greek dictionaries.

6 5 ff. Aristotle, *Poetics* 17. 3, 5: "When the poet invents a subject, he should first draw a general sketch of it, and afterwards give it the detail of its episodes and extend it. . . . After this the poet, when he has given names to his characters, should proceed to the episodes of his action; and he must take care that these belong properly to the subject; like that of the madness of Orestes, which occasions his being taken, and his escape by means of the ablution. In dramatic poetry the episodes are short; but in the epic they are the means of drawing out the poem to its proper length. The general story of the *Odyssey*, for example, lies in a small compass. 'A certain man is supposed to be absent from his own country for many years; he is persecuted by Neptune, deprived of all his companions, and left alone. At home his affairs are in disorder — the suitors of his wife dissipating his wealth

and plotting the destruction of his son. Tossed by many tempests, he at length arrives, and, making himself known to some of his family, attacks his enemies, destroys them, and remains himself in safety.' This is the essential; the rest is episode."

6 29–31. Such a calculation was made by Steele in the *Tatler*, No. 6, and by Bossu in his *Treatise of the Epic Poem*, Bk. 2, chap. 18; for *Paradise Lost* also in Todd's edition of Milton, 2. 10–11; see 155 1 ff.

8 3. *Poetics* 6. 5: "Again, tragedy being an imitation of an action, and the persons employed in that action being necessarily characterized by their manners and their sentiments (since it is from these that actions themselves derive their character), it follows that there must also be manners and sentiments as the two causes of actions, and consequently of the happiness or unhappiness of all men. The imitation of the action is the fable; for by fable I now mean the contexture of incidents, or the plot. By manners I mean whatever marks the characters of the persons; by sentiments whatever they say, whether proving anything or delivering a general sentiment," etc. *Poetics* 5. 5: "He, therefore, who is a judge of the beauties and defects of tragedy is, of course, equally a judge with respect to those of epic poetry; for all the parts of the epic poem are to be found in tragedy; not all those of tragedy in the epic poem." For a discussion of the manners or characters, see Aristotle's fifteenth chapter.

8 20. *A person.* Nestor. See *Il.* 1. 247–265; but Hercules is not mentioned in this passage.

9 10. *Vulcan. Il.* 1. 595–600.

9 11. *Thersites. Il.* 2. 211–277.

9 14. *Hero's friend.* Achates' epithet is usually *fidus*, 'faithful,' 'loyal.'

9 16–17. The lines of the *Æneid* which Addison has chiefly in view are probably 1. 222, 510, 612; 5. 116–285.

9 19. Part of *Æn.* 1. 222 and 1. 612.

9 23 ff. For Pallas and Evander see *Æn.* 8. 97–584; 10. 362–509; 11. 1–99, 139–181. For Lausus and Mezentius, *Æn.* 7. 647–654; 8. 481–495; 10. 689–908. For Nisus and Euryalus, *Æn.* 5. 293–361; 9. 176–449.

9 27. For Sinon see *Æn.* 2. 13–198. For Camilla, *Æn.* 7. 803–817; 11. 498–519, 532–596, 648–867.

10 18. *Sin and Death. P. L.* 2. 648–879.

10 25. Cf. 36 21 ff., 58 22 ff., 66 13 ff., 134 14 ff.

10 27. *Fame. Æn.* 4. 173–197.

10 30. *Dispensary.* A poem by Samuel Garth (1699), modeled

upon Boileau's *Lutrin*. See Morley's *First Sketch of English Literature*, p. 766.

10 31. *Lutrin*. *Le Lutrin*, or *The Reading-Desk*, a mock-heroic poem in six books by Boileau. The first four books were published in 1674, and the last two in 1681. A famous predecessor of these two poems, the *Dispensary* and the *Lutrin*, was the *Secchia Rapita*, or *Rape of the Bucket*, of Tassoni, an Italian poet (1622), and a famous successor was Pope's *Rape of the Lock* (1712, 1714). The earliest mock-heroic poem is the *Batrachomyomachia*, or *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, formerly attributed to Homer (the translation by Parnell with Pope's *Odyssey*, Bohn edition, or in *The Minor Poems of Homer*, N. Y., 1872; also the translation by Chapman in his Works). Other modern poems of this class are Zachariä's (1726–1777) *Handkerchief*, and Diniz' (1730–1798) *Holy-Water Brush*.

11 11 ff. Cf. note on 6 5 ff.

12 5–31. Addison had already anticipated these reflections in his *Discourse on Ancient and Modern Learning* (*Works*, ed. Bohn, 5. 221–222), if, as Hurd supposes, this paper was written in his younger days. The passage is interesting, as being a paraphrase or amplification of the view here expressed: "There is another engaging circumstance that made Virgil and Homer more particularly charming to their own countrymen than they can possibly appear to any of the moderns; and this they took hold of by choosing their heroes out of their own nation. For by this means they have humored and delighted the vanity of a Grecian or Roman reader, they have powerfully engaged him on the hero's side, and made him, as it were, a party in every action; so that the narration renders him more intent, the happy events raise a greater pleasure in him, the passionate part more moves him, and in a word, the whole poem comes more home, and touches him more nearly, than it would have done had the scene lain in another country, and a foreigner been the subject of it. No doubt but the inhabitants of Ithaca preferred the *Odyssey* to the *Iliad*, as the Myrmidons, on the contrary, were not a little proud of their Achilles. The men of Pylos probably could repeat word for word the wise sentences of Nestor; and we may well suppose Agamemnon's countrymen often pleased themselves with their prince's superiority in the Greek confederacy. I believe, therefore, no Englishman reads Homer or Virgil with such an inward triumph of thought, and such a passion of glory, as those who saw in them the exploits of their own countrymen or ancestors. And here, by the way, our Milton has been more universally engaging in the choice of his persons than any other poet can possibly be. He has

obliged all mankind, and related the whole species to the two chief actors in his poem. Nay, what is infinitely more considerable, we behold in him not only our ancestors, but our representatives. We are really engaged in their adventures, and have a personal interest in their good or ill success. We are not only their offspring, but sharers in their fortunes, and no less than our own eternal happiness or misery depends on their single conduct; so that every reader will here find himself concerned, and have all his attention and solicitude raised, in every turn and circumstance of the whole poem."

12 23 ff. Matthew Arnold remarks (*A French Critic on Milton*): "Sometimes the convention is one which in theory ought, a man may perhaps admit, to be something more than a convention; but which yet practically is not. Milton's poem is of surpassing interest to us, says Addison, because in it 'the principal . . . behavior' [12 27–31]. Of ten readers who may even admit that in theory this is so, barely one can be found whose practical experience tells him that Adam and Eve do really, as his representatives, excite his interest in this vivid manner. It is by a mere convention, then, that Addison supposes them to do so, and claims an advantage for Milton's poem from the supposition."

13 3 ff. Addison's quotation is not quite accurate. Aristotle says (*Poetics* 13. 2, 3): "Now, since it is requisite to the perfection of a tragedy that its plot should be of the complicated, not of the simple kind, and that it should imitate such actions as excite terror and pity (this being the peculiar property of the tragic imitation), it follows evidently, in the first place, that the change from prosperity to adversity should not be represented as happening to a virtuous character; for this raises disgust rather than terror or compassion. Neither should the contrary change, from adversity to prosperity, be exhibited in a vicious character: this, of all plans, is the most opposite to the genius of tragedy, having no one property that it ought to have; for it is neither gratifying in a moral view, nor affecting, nor terrible. Nor, again, should the fall of a very bad man from prosperous to adverse fortune be represented: because, though such a subject may be pleasing from its moral tendency, it will produce neither pity nor terror. For our pity is excited by misfortunes undeservedly suffered, and our terror by some resemblance between the sufferer and ourselves. Neither of these effects will, therefore, be produced by such an event.

"There remains, then, for our choice, the character between these extremes: that of a person neither eminently virtuous or just, nor yet involved in misfortune by deliberate vice or villany, but by some error

of human frailty; and this person should also be some one of high fame and flourishing prosperity, for example, Œdipus, Thyestes, or other illustrious men of such families."

14 15. See note on 8 3, and cf. Aristotle, *Poetics* 19. 1, 2: "Of the other parts of tragedy enough has now been said. We are next to consider the diction and the sentiments. For what concerns the sentiments, we refer to the principles laid down in the books on rhetoric, for to that subject they more properly belong. The sentiments include whatever is the object of speech; as, for instance, to prove, to confute, to move the passions — pity, terror, anger, and the like; to amplify, or to diminish."

15 4 ff. Perhaps Addison is thinking of Bossu, who criticizes Homer in Bk. 6, chap. 3, of his *Treatise of the Epic Poem*, but for his comparisons rather than his sentiments. Cf. note on 5 13.

18 1. Cf. 38 27 ff.

18 11 ff. Cf. note on 15 4 ff.

18 18. *Zoilus.* Mahaffy, *Hist. Greek Lit.* 1. 34: "Of these [critics of the orthodox admiration of Homer], Zoilus, a rhetorician of the fourth century B.C., the pupil of Socrates and said to be a teacher of Demosthenes, has gained the chief notoriety. This was because he did not recognize, like Plato, the poetic excellence of the poems, but attacked them æsthetically and grammatically, as well as morally. He wrote nine books against Homer. His name might probably have been forgotten, but for the fancy of some Roman emperors, such as Caligula, and afterwards Hadrian, for depreciating Homer. Of course they revived and favored whatever adverse criticism could be discovered. . . . The work of Zoilus . . . was probably more a rhetorical exercise than a serious attempt to destroy Homer's influence."

Perrault. Charles Perrault (1628–1703). Saintsbury, *Short Hist. French Lit.* p. 329: "After a few essays in poetry, partly burlesque and partly serious, notably a *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, he embarked on the rather unlucky work which gave him his chief reputation among his own contemporaries, the *Parallèles des Anciens et des Modernes*, in which he took the part of the moderns. The dispute which followed, due principally to the overbearing rudeness of Boileau, has had something more than its proper place in literary history, and there is no need to give an account of it."

18 30. *Vulcan and Thersites.* Cf. notes on 9 10, 9 11. *Mars and Venus. Od.* 8. 266–366.

18 31. *Irus. Od.* 18. 1–107.

19 3. *Menœtes. Æn.* 5. 158–182.

21 8 ff. Aristotle, *Poetics* 22. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10: "The excellence of diction consists in being perspicuous without being mean. The most perspicuous is that which is composed of common words; but, at the same time, it is mean. . . . That language, on the contrary, is elevated, and remote from the vulgar idiom, which employs unusual words; by unusual I mean foreign, metaphorical, extended — all, in short, that are not common words. Yet, should a poet compose his diction entirely of such words, the result would be, either an enigma or a barbarous jargon; an enigma, if composed of metaphors; a barbarous jargon, if composed of foreign words. For the essence of an enigma consists in putting together things apparently inconsistent and impossible, and, at the same time, saying nothing but what is true. . . . Thus the foreign word, the metaphorical, the ornamental, and the other species before-mentioned, will raise the language above the vulgar idiom, and common words will give it perspicuity. But nothing contributes more considerably to produce clearness, without vulgarity of diction, than extensions, contractions, and alterations of words: for here the variation from the proper form, being unusual, will give elevation to the expression; and, at the same time, what is retained of usual speech will give it clearness. It is without reason, therefore, that some critics have censured these modes of speech, and ridiculed the poet for the use of them; as old Euclid did, objecting that 'versification would be an easy business, if it were permitted to lengthen words at pleasure;' and then giving a burlesque example of that sort of diction.

"Undoubtedly when these licenses appear to be thus purposely used, the thing becomes ridiculous. In the employment of all the species of unusual words, moderation is necessary; for metaphors, foreign words, or any of the others, improperly used, and with a design to be ridiculous, would produce the same effect. But how great a difference is made by a proper and temperate use of such words, may be seen in heroic verse. Let any one only substitute common words in the place of the metaphorical, the foreign, and others of the same kind, and he will be convinced of the truth of what I say. . . .

"To employ with propriety any of these modes of speech — the double words, the foreign, etc. — is a great excellence. But the greatest of all is to be happy in the use of metaphor; for it is this alone which cannot be acquired, and which, consisting in a quick discernment of resemblances, is a certain mark of genius.

"Of the different kinds of words, the double are best suited to dithyrambic poetry, the foreign to heroic, the metaphorical to iambic. In heroic poetry, indeed, they have all their place."

22 9–12. Cf. *Il.* 1. 505; 2, 673; Hor. *Sat.* 1. 1, 100; Tac. *Hist.* 1. 50.

22 13. *Horace. Art of Poetry* 351–353, 359.

23 29–30. Matthew Arnold inquires (*A French Critic on Milton*): "How is he [the reader] advanced by hearing that 'it is not sufficient that the language of an epic poem be perspicuous, unless it be also sublime;' and that Milton's language is both?"

24 7. *Shakespeare and Lee.* Andrew Lang, in his Introduction to Havell's translation of Longinus (p. xxix, note), remarks: "The examples of bombast used to be drawn as late as Spurden's translation (1836), from Lee, from *Troilus and Cressida*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*."

26 9. *Eremite.* See 23 7.

26 16. *Beelzebub.* But certainly this, or rather Beelzebul, is the commoner form, seven times in the N. T. against four times Baalzebub in the O. T. *Hesebon. P. L.* 1. 408; for *Heshbon* — the Greek form for the Hebrew.

26 21. Cf. note on 1 5.

26 25–26. *Cerberean*, etc. *P. L.* 2. 655; 2. 673; 2. 697; 2. 900.

26 28. *Plutarch. Life and Poetry of Homer* 1. 16. But Plutarch is not the author; it has been plausibly referred to Porphyry.

26 31 ff. So Matthew Arnold, *Milton:* "In the sure and flawless perfection of his rhythm and diction he is as admirable as Virgil or Dante, and in this respect he is unique amongst us. No one else in English literature and art possesses the like distinction.

"Thomson, Cowper, Wordsworth, all of them good poets who have studied Milton, followed Milton, adopted his form, fail in their diction and rhythm if we try them by that high standard of excellence maintained by Milton constantly. From style really high and pure Milton never departs; their departures from it are frequent.

"Shakespeare is divinely strong, rich, and attractive. But sureness of perfect style Shakespeare himself did not possess. I have heard a politician express wonder at the treasures of political wisdom in a certain celebrated scene of *Troilus and Cressida:* for my part I am at least equally moved to wonder at the fantastic and false diction in which Shakespeare has in that scene clothed them. [Cf. note on 24 7. — Ed.] Milton, from one end of *Paradise Lost* to the other, is in his diction and rhythm constantly a great artist in the great style. . . .

"That Milton, of all our English race, is by his diction and rhythm the one artist of the highest rank in the great style whom we have; this I take as requiring no discussion, this I take as certain."

27 29. *Euclid.* See note on 21 8 ff. Nothing else is known of this author.

28 1. *Elisions.* For these see Masson's Introduction to his edition in three volumes, Dr. Johnson's *Remarks on the Versification of Milton* (Todd's edition of Milton, 2. 154–209; or Nos. 86, 88, 90, 92, 94, of the *Rambler*), and Mayor's *English Metre.*

28 3. An example of this is *P. L.* 1. 115:

> That were an ignominy and shame beneath.

28 7 ff. Cf. Dryden's remarks in the note on 1 5.

30 28 ff. Cf. Horace, *Art of Poetry* 309;

> Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons.

31 17–18. Prologue to *All for Love*, 25–26; but, according to Morley, *Annus Mirabilis*, st. 39!

31 29. *Orator* S. 27.

32 25 ff. *On the Sublime* 33 ff. See my edition of *The Art of Poetry*, 3 31, note.

32 30. I extract the following account of Boccalini (1556–1613) from the *Advices from Parnassus, in Two Centuries, with the Political Touchstone, London, 1706:*

"He was born at Rome about the latter end of the sixteenth century. His father was an architect, and probably not very illustrious in his profession, for it seems he wanted wherewithal to encourage his son in his studies. But Boccalini's way was to be made purely by his own merit, and though he set out into the world under great disadvantages, he soon met with considerable friends who were charmed with his ingenious and entertaining qualities. The Italian academies received him with the greatest pleasure imaginable, and honored him with marks of their esteem. He had a large share of wit and humor, which early took an unlucky turn towards satire; and the applause he met with for some curious pieces of that kind, which he communicated in manuscript to his familiars, drew him on to further attempts; so that thinking himself secure under the protection of his illustrious patrons, and particularly the Cardinals Borghese and Cajetan, he published his *Advices from Parnassus*, and afterwards his *Political Touchstone.* Both these pieces met with extraordinary applause, but the latter was very bold and severe; and as our ingenious Lord Bacon expresses it, 'He that follows Truth too close at the heels may have his brains kicked out,' so it fared with Boccalini; for the Spaniards, who were chiefly lashed in that satire, complained against him and pursued their revenge.

This drove him in a fright to Venice, where he found new patrons, and there he employed his hours of study in writing political discourses on Tacitus, which how well he could have performed the reader may judge by several passages in the following *Advices*. But this work was cut short by a bad accident; for while his friend, with whom he lodged, was gone out early one morning, and left Boccalini in bed, four bravos rushed into his chamber and beat him to death with sandbags. Diligent inquiry was made after the contrivers of this villany, but they were never discovered. Thus died Trajano Boccalini, much regretted among men of the best learning and principles."

His *Ragguagli di Parnaso* (first century), of which this is the one hundredth and last number, was printed at Venice in 1612. Addison has condensed the original to at least an eighth of its bulk.

34 9. So Dryden. Cf. note on 1 5.

34 10. *Poetics* 10: "Fables are of two sorts — simple and complicated; for so also are the actions themselves of which they are imitations. An action (having the continuity and unity prescribed) I call simple when its catastrophe is produced without either revolution or discovery; complicated, when with one or both. And these should arise from the structure of the fable itself, so as to be the natural consequences, necessary or probable, of what has preceded in the action. For there is a wide difference between incidents that follow from and incidents that follow only after each other."

34 11. According to Morley, Addison's word 'implex' is taken from the French of Dacier's translation of Aristotle.

35 10. Cf. Newman's *Poetry, with Reference to Aristotle's Poetics* 5 14–22; and see the *Poetics* 11. 2; 16. 8, etc.

35 12. *Former paper. Spectator*, No. 40.

35 16. See Addison's lists in the 40th *Spectator*.

36 5. Dryden, *Discourse on Epic Poetry*: "Spenser has a better plea for his *Faery Queen*, had his action been finished, or had been one; and Milton, if the devil had not been his hero instead of Adam; if the giant had not foiled the knight, and driven him out of his stronghold to wander through the world with his lady errant; and if there had not been more machining persons than human in his poem."

36 24. *Sin and Death.* 2. 648–879.

36 25. *Limbo of Vanity. P. L.* 3. 444–497.

36 26. *Second Book.* But the Limbo of Vanity is in the Third.

37 1. *Poetics* 24. 7: "Among the many just claims of Homer to our praise, this is one, that he is the only poet who seems to have understood what part in his poem it was proper for him to take himself.

The poet, in his own person, should speak as little as possible, for he is not then the imitator. But other poets, ambitious to figure throughout themselves, imitate but little, and seldom. Homer, after a few preparatory lines, immediately introduces a man, a woman, or some other character."

37 10. *On Friendship* 1. 4; but, according to Morley, *Letters to Atticus* 13. 44!

37 34. *Æn.* 10. 501–505.

38 12. *Scaliger. Poetics* 6. 6 (p. 326, d. 1); but, according to Morley, 3. 25!

38 14. *He declaims*, etc. *Pharsalia* 2. 1–15.

38 18. *Complaint. P. L.* 3. 1–55. *Panegyric. P. L.* 4. 750–770.

38 19. *Reflections. P. L.* 4. 312–320.

38 20. *Angels' eating. P. L.* 5. 404–433.

39 13 ff. Jebb, *Introduction to Homer*, pp. 16–18: "It is still more important, perhaps, to perceive the broad difference between the Homeric epic and the literary epic of later ages. The literary epic is composed, in an age of advanced civilization, by a learned poet. His taste and style have been influenced by the writings of many poets before him. He commands the historical and antiquarian literature suitable to his design. He composes with a view to cultivated readers, who will feel the more recondite charms of style, and will understand the literary allusions. The general character of the literary epic is well illustrated by the great passage of *Paradise Lost* where Milton is saying how far 'beyond compare of mortal prowess' were the legions of the fallen Archangel: [here follows the quotation, *P. L.* 1. 571–587. — Ed.]. It is a single and a simple thought — the exceeding might of Satan's followers — that Milton here enforces by example after example. A large range of literature is laid under contribution, — the classical poets, the Arthurian cycle, the Italian romances of chivalry, the French legends of Charlemagne. The lost angels are measured against the Giants, the Greek heroes, the Knights of the Round Table, the champions of the Cross or the Crescent, and the paladins slain at Roncesvalles. Every name is a literary reminiscence. By the time that 'Aspramont' is reached, we begin to feel that the progress of the enumeration is no longer adding anything to our conception of prowess; we begin to be aware that, in these splendid verses, the poet is exhibiting his erudition. But this characteristic of the literary epic, — its proneness to employ the resources of learning for the production of a cumulative effect, — is only one of the traits which are exemplified by the passage. Homer would not have said, as Milton does that, in comparison with the exiled

Spirits, all the chivalry of human story was no better than '*that small infantry warred on by cranes;*' Homer would have said that it was no better than the Pygmies. Homer says plainly and directly what he means; the literary epic likes to say it allusively; and observe the turn of Milton's expression, — '*that* small infantry;' *i.e.* 'the small infantry which, of course, you remember in the third book of the *Iliad*.' Lastly, remark Milton's phrase, 'since created Man,' meaning, 'since the creation of Man.' The idiom, so familiar in Greek and Latin, is not English, and so it gives a learned air to the style; the poet is at once felt to be a scholar, and the poem to be a work of the study. Homer's language is everywhere noble, but then it is also natural. So, within the compass of these few lines, three characteristics may be seen which broadly distinguish the literary epic from Homer. It is learnedly elaborate, while Homer is spontaneous; it is apt to be allusive, while Homer is direct; in language it is often artificially subtle, while Homer, though noble, is plain. The Homeric quality which the literary epic best attains is nobleness; yet the nobleness is of a different cast; it is a grave majesty, of stately but somewhat monotonous strain; whereas the noble manner of Homer lends itself with equal ease to every mood of human life; it can render the vehemence of dark passions, or reflect the splendor of battle, but it is not less truly itself in shedding a sunny or tender grace over the gentlest or homeliest scenes, — in short, it is everywhere the nobleness of nature."

39 27. *Objection.* Seneca (the elder), *Controversies* 7. 4. 8: "His style is stiff; there is nothing easy and smooth about it." The complete sentence is (speaking of Calvus): "Compositio ejus in actionibus ad exemplum Demosthenis riget; nihil in ea placidum, nihil lene est; omnia excitata et fluctuantia."

39 30. *Already.* Cf. 27 10 ff.

40 7 ff. In his *Notes on Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Bk. 3, Fable 5), Addison has spoken of what he calls mixed wit. After explaining its nature, he concludes: "Homer, Virgil, Horace, and the greatest poets scorned it, as indeed it is only fit for epigram and little copies of verses; one would wonder, therefore, how so sublime a genius as Milton could sometimes fall into it, in such a work as an epic poem. But we must attribute it to his humoring the vicious taste of the age he lived in, and the false judgment of our unlearned English readers in general, who have few of them a relish of the more masculine and noble beauties of poetry."

40 16. *Rhetoric.* Bk. 3, chap. 11.

41 5. *P. L.* 2. 1019.

41 6–7. *P. L.* 1. 713–716.
41 8. *P. L.* 3. 740.
41 9. *P. L.* 3. 575; 3. 483; 1. 745.
41 10. *P. L.* 3. 616–617:

> As when his beams at noon
> Culminate from the equator.

43 4. *Horace. Art of Poetry* 136–142.
43 5. *Invocation. P. L.* 1. 1–26.
43 12. *Transition. P. L.* 1. 27–49.
43 14 ff. *P. L.* 1. 50–53.
43 18. *Division. P. L.* 1. 295–300.
43 21. *Exclusion. P. L.* 1. 66.
43 23 ff. *P. L.* 1. 84–124.
45 24. *Semblance. P. L.* 1. 529.
45 25. *Owing. P. L.* 1. 144, 259, 623.
46 9. *Catalogue. P. L.* 1. 376–521.
46 16. *Moloch. P. L.* 1. 392–405. *Belial. P. L.* 1. 490–505.

47 5 ff. This account is given in *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, by Henry Maundrell, of which the fifth edition was published at Oxford in 1732. The beginning of the passage is abridged by Addison. The whole may be conveniently found in Wright's *Early Travels in Palestine* (Bohn's Library).

48 15. *Character. P. L.* 1. 678–688. *Description. P. L.* 1. 710–730.
48 19. *Description. P. L.* 1. 533–539.

49 21. Addison quotes this passage again in the 103d *Guardian* (July 9, 1713), where he is speaking of fireworks. One of his characters "would have a large piece of machinery represent the Pandemonium." The scene described in the quotation from Milton "might be finely represented by several illuminations disposed in a great frame of wood, with ten thousand beautiful exhalations of fire, which men versed in this art know very well how to raise. The evil spirits, at the same time, might very properly appear in vehicles of flame, and employ all the tricks of art to terrify and surprise the spectator." Addison continues: "We were well enough pleased with this start of thought, but fancied there was something in it too serious, and perhaps too horrid, to be put into execution."

50 21 ff. It may be instructive to observe how a man of Addison's taste and command of English renders a passage of French, and the original of this extract is accordingly subjoined (*Réflexions Critiques sur Longin*, Réflexion 6): "Les comparaisons, dans les odes et dans

les poëmes épiques, ne sont pas simplement mises pour éclaircir et pour eruer le discours, mais pour amuser et pour délasser l'esprit du lecteur, en le détachant de temps en temps du principal sujet, et le promenant sur d'autres images agréables à l'esprit; que c'est en cela qu'a principalement excellé Homere, dont non seulement toutes les comparaisons, mais tous les discours sont pleins d'images de la nature si vraies et si variées, qu'étant toujours le même, il est néanmoins toujours différent; instruisant sans cesse le lecteur, et lui faisant observer, dans les objets mêmes qu'il a tous les jours devant les yeux, des choses qu'il ne s'avisoit pas d'y remarquer; que c'est une vérité universellement reconnue qu'il n'est point nécessaire, en matière de poésie, que les points de la comparaison se répondent si juste les uns aux autres, qu'il suffit d'un rapport général, et qu'une trop grande exactitude sentiroit son rhéteur."

51 11. *P. L.* 1. 594–599; 1. 200–208.
51 12. *P. L.* 1. 768–775; 1. 781–788.
52 12. *P. L.* 2. 11 ff.; 2. 465–467.
52 13. *P. L.* 2. 629 ff.
52 15. *P. L.* 2. 666 ff.
53 11. *Address. P. L.* 2. 968–987.
53 13. *Moloch. P. L.* 2. 43–108.
53 16. *P. L.* 1. 392–393.
53 18. *P. L.* 2. 44–45.
54 3. *P. L.* 2. 51.
54 20. *P. L.* 2. 92–98.
54 22. *P. L.* 2. 101–105.
54 27. *P. L.* 2. 117.
54 28. *P. L.* 6. 620–627.
54 34. *Apprehensions. P. L.* 2. 143–145.
55 1. *Horrors. P. L.* 2. 145–151.
55 8 ff. *P. L.* 1. 678–688.
55 13 ff. *P. L.* 2. 237–249.
56 2 ff. *P. L.* 1. 79–191.
56 5. *P. L.* 2. 299–309.
57 12 ff. *Æn.* 6. 752–886.
57 21 ff. *P. L.* 2. 528 ff.
57 31. *P. L.* 2. 546–555.
58 1. *P. L.* 2. 555–569. In No. 114 of the *Tatler* (Dec. 31, 1709), Addison refers to lines 555–561 as an example illustrating 'turns of words': "He describes the fallen angels engaged in the intricate disputes of predestination, free-will, and fore-knowledge; and to humor the perplexity, makes a kind of labyrinth in the very words that de-

scribe it." Again, in the 237th *Spectator* (Dec. 1, 1711), he quotes lines 557 to 561, as an illustration of a species of torment reserved for the lost, "the vain pursuit of knowledge."

58 4. *Four rivers.* *P. L.* 2. 575–581.

58 5. *Extremes.* *P. L.* 2. 596–603.

58 6. *River.* *P. L.* 2. 583–586.

58 15 ff. *P. L.* 2. 614–628.

58 21. *P. L.* 2. 629–643.

58 22. *Already.* Cf. 10 15 ff., 36 21 ff.

58 25. *P. L.* 2. 752–802.

59 14. *P. L.* 2. 746, 774–777.

59 17 ff. *P. L.* 2. 666–677.

59 19. *Outcry.* *P. L.* 2. 787–789.

60 9 ff. *P. L.* 2. 960–967.

60 10. *Imaginary persons.* Cf. 66 15.

60 17 ff. *P. L.* 2. 928–938.

60 21. *P. L.* 2. 1013.

60 25. *P. L.* 2. 1034–1037.

60 27. *P. L.* 2. 1051–1053. *Earth.* Rather 'universe.'

61 1. *Horace. Art of Poetry* 38–41.

62 5 ff. Matthew Arnold comments (*A French Critic on Milton*): "The theological speeches in the third book of *Paradise Lost* are not, in themselves, attractive poetry. But, says Addison: 'The passions . . . writer' [62 5–18. — ED.]. But nine readers out of ten feel that, as a matter of fact, their religious sentiments of 'divine love and religious fear' are wholly ineffectual even to reconcile them to the poetical tiresomeness of the speeches in question; far less can they render them interesting. It is by a mere convention, then, that Addison pretends that they do."

62 27. Cf. *Æn.* 1. 223–226.

63 23 ff. *P. L.* 3. 80–89.

64 3. *Mute.* *P. L.* 3. 217–218.

64 4 ff. *P. L.* 3. 344–415.

64 15 ff. *P. L.* 3. 418–441.

64 23. *Before.* See 36 25.

64 28. *Poetics* 24. 8, 10: "The surprising is necessary in tragedy; but the epic poem goes farther, and admits even the improbable and incredible, from which the highest degree of the surprising results, because there the action is not seen. . . . Now the wonderful always pleases, as is evident from the additions which men always make in relating anything in order to gratify the hearers. . . . The poet should

prefer impossibilities which appear probable, to such things as, though possible, appear improbable."

65 20. *Od.* 13. 146–183; *Æn.* 9. 107–122.

65 30 ff. *Æn.* 3. 19–46.

66 15. *Sin and Death.* Cf. 10 25, note. *Imaginary persons.* Cf. 60 10 ff.

66 19–25. *I know . . . the letter.* Addison's 'many critics' probably means Bossu. In the latter's *Treatise of the Epic Poem*, Bk. 5, chap. 3, we have: "Now the episodes of Circe, the Sirens, Polypheme, and the like, are necessary to the action of the *Odyssey*, and yet they are not humanly probable. Homer artificially brings them under the human probability, by the simplicity of those before whom he causes these fabulous recitals to be made. . . . But even here the poet is not unmindful of his more understanding readers. He has in these fables given them all the pleasure that can be reaped from moral truths, so pleasantly disguised under these miraculous allegories."

66 20. *Circe. Odyssey*, Bk. 10. *Polypheme. Odyssey*, Bk. 9.

66 21. *Sirens. Odyssey*, Bk. 12.

66 30. *Poetics* 9. 6: "Tragedy, indeed, retains the use of real names; and the reason is, that what we are disposed to believe we must think possible. Now what has never actually happened we are not apt to regard as possible; but what has been is unquestionably so, or it could not have been at all."

67 5 ff. *P. L.* 3. 498–561.

67 12. *Simile. P. L.* 3. 543–551.

67 17. *Ken. P. L.* 1. 59.

67 19 ff. *P. L.* 3. 561–619.

67 26 ff. *P. L.* 3. 619–623.

68 1. *P. L.* 3. 694–736.

68 24. *Complaint. P. L.* 3. 1–55.

68 29. *Digression. P. L.* 3. 682–689.

69 4–7. Matthew Arnold quotes this sentence (*A French Critic on Milton*), and adds: "The right thing, surely, is for such a work to prove its own virtue by powerfully and delightfully affecting us as we read it, and by remaining a constant source of elevation and happiness to us for ever. But the *Paradise Lost* has not this effect certainly and universally; therefore Addison proposes to 'set before the English reader, in its full beauty,' the great poem."

70 22. In the 418th *Spectator* (June 30, 1712) Addison observes: "Most readers, I believe, are more charmed with Milton's description of Paradise than of Hell; they are both, perhaps, equally perfect in

their kind, but in the one the brimstone and sulphur are not so refreshing to the imagination as the beds of flowers and the wilderness of sweets in the other."

70 23. *Poetics* 24. 11: "The diction should be most labored in the idle parts of the poem — those in which neither manners nor sentiments prevail; for the manners and the sentiments are only obscured by a too splendid diction."

70 30. *Justly censured.* Cf. Horace, *Art of Poetry* 16–18.

70 35. *Happiness.* In No. 393 of the *Spectator* (May 31, 1710) Addison quotes lines 148–156, and comments: "I know none of the poets who have observed so well as Milton those secret overflowings of gladness which diffuse themselves through the mind of the beholder upon surveying the gay scenes of nature; he has touched upon it twice or thrice in his *Paradise Lost*, and describes it very beautifully under the name of vernal delight, in that passage where he represents the devil himself as almost sensible of it."

71 7 ff. This is the case with lines 639–656, for example. These lines are the subject of some remarks by Addison in the *Tatler*, No. 114 (Dec. 31, 1709): "This additional satisfaction from the taste of pleasures in the society of one we love is admirably described in Milton, who represents Eve, though in Paradise itself, no further pleased with the beautiful objects around her than as she sees them in company with Adam, in that passage so inexpressibly charming. . . . The variety of images in this passage is infinitely pleasing, and the recapitulation of each particular image, with a little varying of the expression, makes one of the finest turns of words that I have ever seen; which I rather mention, because Mr. Dryden has said, in his Preface to Juvenal, 'That he could meet with no turn of words in Milton.' It may further be observed that, though the sweetness of these verses has something in it of a pastoral, yet it excels the ordinary kind as much as the scene of it is above an ordinary field or meadow."

71 25 ff. *P. L.* 4. 18–113.

72 9. *This speech.* The beginning of it was the first part of *Paradise Lost* written by Milton, and intended as the beginning of his tragedy on that subject. See Masson's Introduction to the Globe Edition, p. 13.

72 13. *Bounding.* *P. L.* 4. 179–183. *Sitting.* *P. L.* 4. 194–196.

72 16. *Alighting.* *P. L.* 4. 395–397.

72 17. *Playing.* *P. L.* 4. 340–350.

72 18. *Transforming.* *P. L.* 4. 397–408.

72 26. *Il.* 7. 58–60; or perhaps, as Pope suggested, *Il.* 14. 286–291.

72 28. *Planting himself.* *P. L.* 4. 799–809.

72 30 ff. *P. L.* 4. 810–814.

73 10. *P. L.* 4. 834–848.

73 26. *P. L.* 4. 878–896.

73 30. *Homer's description. Il.* 4. 442–443. Cf. Longinus, *On the Sublime* 9. 4: "So the space between heaven and earth marks out the vast reach and capacity of Homer's genius when he says:

> While scarce the skies her horrid head can bound,
> She stalks on earth.

This description may with no less justice be applied to Homer's genius than to Discord."

73 31. *Fame. Æn.* 4. 176–177.

74 10 ff. Such a hint was adopted, according to Addison (*Spectator*, No. 12), in lines 675–688: "Milton has finely described this mixed communion of men and spirits in Paradise; and had doubtless his eye upon a verse in old Hesiod, which is almost word for word the same with his third line in the following passage." The line is:

> Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth.

The reference is to Hesiod, *Works and Days* 120 ff., of which a translation may be read in Bohn's Library, or in Chapman's *Works* (London, 1875), *Minor Poems and Translations*, pp. 214–215.

74 19. *P. L.* 4. 996–1004.

74 23. *Il.* 22. 208–213; 8. 68–72.

74 24. *Æn.* 12. 725–727: Dryden, *Discourse on Epic Poetry:* "Nothing can be more beautiful or more poetical than his [Virgil's] description of the three Diræ, or the setting of the balance, which our Milton has borrowed from him, but employed to a different end; for, first, he makes God Almighty set the scales for St. Gabriel and Satan, when he knew no combat was to follow; then he makes the good angel's scale descend, and the devil's mount — quite contrary to Virgil, if I have translated the three verses according to my author's sense:

> Jupiter ipse duas æquato examine lances
> Sustinet, et fata imponit diversa duorum;
> Quem damnet labor, et quo vergat pondere letum.

For I have taken these words, *Quem damnet labor*, in the sense which Virgil gives them in another place (*Damnabis tu quoque votis*), to signify a prosperous event. Yet I dare not condemn so great a genius as Milton; for I am much mistaken if he alludes not to the text in Daniel where Belshazzar was put into the balance and found too light."

75 6. Dan. 5. 27; but the quotation is inaccurate.

75 8. *P. L.* 4. 555–556.

75 9. *Descend. P. L.* 4. 589–592.

75 16 ff. *P. L.* 4. 680–688.

75 19. *Amusing.* Interesting.

76 20 ff. *P. L.* 4. 325–350.

77 14 ff. *P. L.* 4. 449–491. The passage descriptive of Eve's viewing herself in the watery mirror (460 ff.) was touched on by Addison in his *Notes on Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Bk. 3, Fable 6): "This passage of Narcissus probably gave Milton the hint of applying it to Eve, though I think her surprise at the sight of her own face in the water far more just and natural than this of Narcissus. She was a raw, unexperienced being, just created, and therefore might easily be subject to the delusion; but Narcissus had been in the world sixteen years, and was brother and son to the water-nymphs, and therefore to be supposed conversant with the fountains long before this fatal mistake."

78 12. *P. L.* 4. 502–503.

78 15. *Discourses. P. L.* 4. 601–688.

78 17. *P. L.* 4. 635–658.

79 5. *Twenty-third.* An error for 'twenty-seventh.' The passage is: "But further, it sometimes happens, when a writer is saying anything of a person, that by a sudden transition he quits his own, and speaks as that very person, — a form of speech which indicates an outburst of passion.

> On rushed bold Hector, gloomy as the night;
> Forbids to plunder, animates the fight,
> Points to the fleet; 'for by the gods, who flies,
> Who dares but linger, by this hand he dies.' — *Il.* 15. 346–349.

Now the narrative, as being suitable to him, the poet has assumed to himself; but, without any previous note of transition, he has at once put this abrupt menace into the mouth of the enraged hero; for it would have sounded flat had he stopped to insert, 'Hector spake thus, or thus.' But, as it stands, the transfer of the speech outstrips any transition the poet could have expressed.

81 26–33. Cant. 2. 10–12.

81 34–82 2. Cant. 7. 11–12.

83 13. *Morning Hymn. P. L.* 5. 153–208. *One of those Psalms.* Probably Ps. 148.

83 32 ff. *P. L.* 5. 247–253.

84 13 ff. *Il.* 18. 375–377. More probably *Il.* 5. 749: "Self-moving

groaned upon their hinges the gates of heaven whereof the Hours are warders;" see 102 14.

84 25 ff. Ezek. 1. 19–21.

85 10. *P. L.* 5. 266–287.

85 24 ff. *P. L.* 5. 287–300.

85 29. This passage, extended to line 343, is quoted by Addison in the *Guardian*, No. 138 (Aug. 19, 1713), and introduced by the following sentence: "In short, I endeavor to treat my readers in the same manner as Eve does the angel in that beautiful description of Milton."

86 8–10. *P. L.* 5. 350–360.

86 10. *Hail.* *P. L.* 5. 388.

86 12. *P. L.* 5. 443–445.

86 20. *P. L.* 5. 433.

86 23. *P. L.* 5. 404–433.

86 24. *Warns him*, etc., *P. L.* 5. 519–543.

87 31. Four times in the *Iliad*: 1. 403; 2. 813; 14. 291; 20. 74.

88 4. *The part.* *P. L.* 5. 805–907.

88 7. *Seraphim.* This word and 'cherubim' are treated as singular by Addison.

91 12 ff. *P. L.* 6. 56–60.

91 14 ff. *P. L.* 6. 212–217.

91 17 ff. *P. L.* 6. 582–590.

91 20 ff. *P. L.* 6. 639–669.

91 23 ff. *P. L.* 6. 760–770.

92 18. *Description.* Hesiod, *Theogony* 664–745.

92 26. *That passage.* *Od.* 11. 315–316. Cf. note on 99 1 ff.

93 5–13. Claudian, *Gigantomachia* 68–71. The last two lines run:

> Et socias truncavit aquas summaque levatus
> Rupe Giganteos umeros irrorat Enipeus.

For Claudian cf. Simcox, *Hist. Lat. Lit.* 2. 367–376.

94 3. The passage from Roscommon is as follows:

> Have we forgot how Raphael's numerous prose
> Led our exalted soul through heavenly camps,
> And marked the ground where proud apostate Thrones
> Defied Jehovah? Here, 'twixt host and host
> (A narrow, but a dreadful interval)
> Portentous sight! before the cloudy van
> Satan, with vast and haughty strides advanced,
> Came towering, armed in adamant and gold.
> There bellowing engines with their fiery tubes
> Dispersed ethereal forms, and down they fell

By thousands, angels on archangels rolled.
Recovered, to the hills they ran, they flew,
Which, with their ponderous load, rocks, waters, woods,
From their firm seats torn by the shaggy tops,
They bore like shields before them through the air,
Till, more incensed, they hurled them at their foes.
All was confusion, heaven's foundation shook,
Threatening no less than universal wreck,
For Michael's arm main promontories flung
And overpressed whole legions weak with sin.
Yet they blasphemed and struggled as they lay
Till the great ensign of Messiah blazed,
And, armed with vengeance, God's victorious Son
(Effulgence of Paternal Deity),
Grasping ten thousand thunders in his hand,
Drove the old original rebels headlong down,
And sent them flaming to the vast abyss.

94 22. *Sword.* The passage referred to is *Æn.* 12. 728–741. It is not the sword of Æneas, but his armor, which shattered the weapon of Turnus: "As soon as it met the god-wrought armor of Vulcan, the mortal blade, like fragile ice, snapped asunder at the blow."

94 29 ff. 2 Macc. 15. 15.

95 9 ff. *Il.* 5. 330–342.

95 18 ff. *Il.* 5. 855–863.

96 4. *Ezekiel.* See 84 28 ff.

96 9. Ps. 45. 3, 4.

96 21–29. *Il.* 20. 51–66.

96 30. *Il.* 21. 328–382.

96 31. *Il.* 21. 403–414.

96 32. *Acres.* Rather 'roods' (πέλεθρα).

99 1 ff. Longinus, *On the Sublime* 8: "Now, if he [Cæcilius] thought that the grand and pathetic, as one and the same thing, were always found together, and were naturally inseparable, he was under a mistake. For some passions are far removed from grandeur and are in themselves of a lowly character; as pity, grief, fear; and, on the contrary, there are many things grand and lofty without any passion; as, among a thousand instances, we may see, from what the poet has said, with such exceeding boldness, of the Aloïdes:

To raise
Huge Ossa on Olympus' top they strove,
And place on Ossa Pelion with its grove;
That heaven itself, thus climbed, might be assailed.

But the sublimity of what he afterwards adds is yet greater:

Nor would success their bold attempts have failed," etc.

100 9. Longinus, *On the Sublime* 13, 14: "And this man [Plato] instructs us, if we would but listen to him, that there is also some other way, besides those already mentioned, which leads to things sublime. And what way is this, and what is its nature? It is to imitate and emulate the great historians and poets of former days. And be this, my dearest friend, our fixed and steadfast aim. For many are they that are moved to a divine enthusiasm by another's spirit, in the same manner as fame records that when the Pythoness draws nigh the sacred tripod (where, as they say, the cleft earth breathes an inspiring exhalation) she is thereby impregnated with the divine influence, and forthwith breaks out in strains of prophecy, according as the Deity inspires her. Thus it is that from the sublime geniuses of the ancients certain effluvia are wafted to the souls of those that emulate them, as from the sacred cavern; by whose inspiration even such as are not over-gifted of Phœbus catch enthusiasm from the sublimities of others. Was Herodotus the only devoted imitator of Homer? Stesichorus was so before him, and so was Archilochus; but, more than all of them, Plato, who from the famed Homeric fountain has drawn water by ten thousand by-streams to irrigate his own genius. And, perhaps, it were needful for me to point out instances, had not Ammonius and his disciples given a classified list of them. Nor is this plagiarism; but to take a hint from models of poetic fiction or works of art is as defensible as to copy good manners. Neither do I think that Plato would have displayed so much vigor in delivering his philosophical doctrines, and so often have soared to the matter and diction of poetry, had he not strenuously entered the lists, even with Homer, and disputed the palm with him, like some undistinguished champion that matches himself with one who has already engrossed the admiration of the world. The attack was perhaps too rash, the opposition perhaps had too much the air of enmity, but yet it could not fail of some advantage, for, as Hesiod says:

Such brave contention works the good of men.

And, assuredly, glorious are the efforts, worthy our highest ambition the crown in this contest for pre-eminence of fame, wherein even to be worsted by the heroes of former days is unattended with dishonor. Wherefore, whenever we, too, are engaged in a work which requires grandeur of style and exalted sentiments, it were good to raise in ourselves such reflections as these: — 'How in this matter would Homer,

as the case may be, or Plato, or Demosthenes have raised their thoughts? Or, if it be historical, how would Thucydides?' For these persons, being set before us, and appearing, as it were, in bright array, as patterns for our imitation, will in some degree raise our souls to the standard we have pictured to our imaginations. It will be yet of greater use if to the preceding reflections we add these: — 'What would Homer or Demosthenes have thought of this piece? or how would they have been affected by it?' For of a truth it is no light contest we engage in when we set before us such a tribunal and such an auditory to adjudicate upon our own performances; and are possessed with the idea, though but in imagination, that we are submitting our writings to the scrutiny of such distinguished characters, who are at once both our judges and witnesses."

100 30 ff. Longinus, *On the Sublime* 9: "So likewise the Jewish legislator — no ordinary person — having conceived a just idea of the power of God, has nobly expressed it in the beginning of his law. 'And God said' —— What? — 'Let there be light, and there was light; let the earth be, and the earth was.'"

101 8. *Speech. P. L.* 7. 70–108.

101 29 ff. Zech. 6. 1.

102 12. See 84 28 ff.; 96 3.

102 13. See 84 4 ff.

103 15 ff. *Il.* 5. 738–747.

103 22. *Divine Geometrician.* From Plutarch, *Symposiacs*, Bk. 8, Question 2 (*Morals*, ed. Goodwin, 3. 402): "Silence following this discourse, Diogenianus began and said: Since our discourse is about the gods, shall we, especially on his own birthday, admit Plato to the conference, and inquire upon what account he says — supposing it to be his sentence — that God always plays the geometer? I said that this sentence was not plainly set down in any of his books; yet there are good arguments that it is his, and it is very much like his expression."

103 26 ff. Isa. 40. 12.

103 32 ff. Job 38. 4, 5.

103 34 ff. Job 26. 13, 7.

104 29 ff. *P. L.* 7. 309–338.

105 23 ff. *P. L.* 7. 387–498.

105 25. *Lion. P. L.* 7. 463–466. *Leviathan. P. L.* 7. 412–416.

105 29 ff. *P. L.* 7. 519–547.

106 30. *Creation.* Morley's note in his edition of the *Spectator* is in part as follows: "Sir Richard Blackmore's *Creation* appeared in 1712. . . . The work is not an epic, but described on its title-page as

'A Philosophical Poem, Demonstrating the Existence and Providence of a God.' It argues in blank verse, in the first two of its seven books, the existence of a Deity from evidences of design in the structure and qualities of earth and sea, in the celestial bodies and the air; in the next three books it argues against objections raised by atheists, atomists, and fatalists; in the sixth book proceeds with evidences of design, taking the structure of man's body for its theme, and in the next, which is the last book, treats in the same way of the instincts of animals and of the faculties and operations of the soul. This is the manner of the poem:

> The Sun does next demand our view; and there
> No less the marks of perfect skill appear.
> When first the atoms to the congress came,
> And by their concourse formed the mighty frame,
> What did the liquid to the assembly call
> To give their aid to form the ponderous ball?
> First, tell us, why did any come? next, why
> In such a disproportion to the dry?
> Why were the moist in numbers so outdone,
> That to a thousand dry they are but one?

It is hardly a 'mark of perfect skill' that there are five or six thousand of such dry lines in Blackmore's poem, and not even one that should lead a critic to speak in the same breath of Blackmore and Milton."

107 10–12. Ecclesiasticus 1. 9.

108 6–11. *P. L.* 8. 1–38.

109 21–28. *P. L.* 8. 64–178.

109 29. *P. L.* 8. 203–207.

109 30. *P. L.* 8. 250–520.

111 2. *Æn.* 6. 552–558; but 'the noise of iron whips' is not heard in Virgil's Tartarus. The phrase which Addison has in mind is 'stridor ferri':

> Hinc exaudiri gemitus, et sæva sonare
> Verbera; tum stridor ferri, tractæque catenæ.

111 33. *P. L.* 8. 267–277.

112 1 ff. *P. L.* 8. 278–282.

112 7. *Amusing.* See notes on 75 19, 122 4.

112 14. *P. L.* 8. 287–291. Landor's comment on this passage is: "How could he know he was passing into a state of which, at that time, he knew nothing?"

112 16 ff. *P. L.* 297–451.

112 23–24, 28–29. On these lines Matthew Arnold remarks (*A French Critic on Milton*): "What is the use of telling a man, who finds himself tired rather than delighted by *Paradise Lost*, that the incidents of that poem 'have in them all the beauties of novelty, at the same time that they have all the graces of nature,' that 'though they are natural, they are not obvious, which is the true character of all fine writing'?"

112 30. *P. L.* 8. 333–336.

113 5 ff. *P. L.* 8. 357–451.

113 29. *P. L.* 8. 452–477.

114 1. Lines 469 to 511 are quoted by Addison in the 89th *Spectator* (June 12, 1711), at the close of a somewhat humorous passage: "I would in this particular propose the example of Eve to all her daughters, as Milton has represented her in the following passage, which I cannot forbear transcribing entire, though only the twelve last lines are to my present purpose."

114 9–15. *P. L.* 8. 478–520.

115 15. This passage is quoted by Addison in the *Freeholder*, No. 32 (April 9, 1716), down to line 554. He adds: "If there is such a native loveliness in the sex as to make them victorious even when they are in the wrong, how resistless is their power when they are on the side of truth!" And the whole passage is anticipated in the 102d *Tatler* (Dec. 3, 1709): "If virtue in men is more venerable, it is in women more lovely; which Milton has very finely expressed in his *Paradise Lost*, where Adam, speaking of Eve, after having asserted his own pre-eminence as being first in creation and internal faculties, breaks out into the following rapture."

115 33. *P. L.* 8. 560–594.

116 15. *P. L.* 8. 645–651.

117 21. *Roman Antiquities*, Bk. 1.

118 25. *Æn.* 3. 255–257.

119 1. *Æn.* 7. 116.

119 4 ff. *Æn.* 9. 107–122. Cf. 65 20.

119 12. *Ovid. Metamorph.* 14. 530 ff.

119 30 ff. Edmond Scherer dissents from this view. As quoted by Matthew Arnold (*A French Critic on Milton*) he says: "There is not one reader out of a hundred who can read the ninth and tenth books without smiling, or the eleventh and twelfth without yawning." See Scherer's *Essays on English Literature* (N. Y., 1891).

120 8 ff. *P. L.* 9. 58–69.

120 13 ff. *P. L.* 9. 69–96.

120 21. *Soliloquy.* *P. L.* 9. 99–178.

121 18 ff. *P. L.* 9. 205–384.

122 4. *Amusement.* Diversion.

122 28. *P. L.* 9. 888–904.

122 33. One of these 'images of nature' Addison has remarked in the 218th *Tatler* (Aug. 30, 1710). He quotes lines 445 to 451, and adds: "Those who are conversant in the writings of polite authors receive an additional entertainment from the country, as it revives in their memories those charming descriptions with which such authors do frequently abound."

123 25. *P. L.* 9. 1007–1189.

123 32. *Æn.* 4. 166–168.

124 25. *Il.* 14. 292–353.

127 20. *P. L.* 10. 90–208.

128 27 ff. Rev. 6. 8.

129 1–11. *P. L.* 10. 649–667.

129 30. *Seven times.* *P. L.* 9. 63.

129 31 ff. *P. L.* 10. 326–346, 414–419.

130 3. *P. L.* 10. 441–458.

130 6. *Transformation.* *P. L.* 10. 504–547

130 18. *P. L.* 10. 575–577.

133 11 ff. *P. L.* 10. 863–908.

133 36 ff. *P. L.* 10. 979–1006.

134 17. *Before observed.* See 10 15 ff., 36 21 ff., 58 22, 66 15. Cf. Morley, *Introduction to Paradise Lost, Bks. 7–12:* "When Satan proceeds on his expedition he finds Sin and Death keeping the gates of Hell.. Addison recognized the grandeur of the images, especially that of Death, but objected to them as personifications. What else were the gods of Greek mythology who took their place in the epics of the ancients? What else were Moloch, Mammon, Belial, to whom Addison did not object? There are religious men who might say also, What else is Satan? Milton has simply done, by his own strength, for Sin and Death, what the sages of old did who personified powers of man and of nature in the gods of Greece. Addison ought not to have been at fault for want of the mere surface resemblance, but he led the critics of his time more surely because he was a man of genius who shared some of their weaknesses."

But against Morley's defense may be adduced the opinions of Johnson (*Life of Milton*): "After the operation of immaterial agents, which cannot be explained, may be considered that of allegorical persons which have no real existence. To exalt causes into agents, to invest

abstract ideas with form, and animate them with activity, has always been the right of poetry. But such airy beings are, for the most part, suffered only to do their natural office, and retire. Thus Fame tells a tale, and Victory hovers over a general, or perches on a standard; but Fame and Victory can do no more. To give them any real employment, or ascribe to them any material agency, is to make them allegorical no longer, but to shock the mind by ascribing effects to nonentity. In the Prometheus of Æschylus we see Violence and Strength, and in the Alcestis of Euripides we see Death brought upon the stage, all as active persons of the drama; but no precedents can justify absurdity.

"Milton's allegory of Sin and Death is undoubtedly faulty. Sin is indeed the mother of Death, and may be allowed to be the portress of Hell; but when they stop the journey of Satan, a journey described as real, and when Death offers him battle, the allegory is broken. That Sin and Death should have shown the way to Hell, might have been allowed; but they cannot facilitate the passage by building a bridge, because the difficulty of Satan's passage is described as real and sensible, and the bridge ought to be only figurative. The Hell assigned to the rebellious spirits is described as not less local than the residence of man. It is placed in some distant part of space, separated from the regions of harmony and order by a chaotic waste and an unoccupied vacuity; but Sin and Death worked up a *mole* of *aggravated soil*, cemented with *asphaltus;* a work too bulky for ideal architects. This unskilful allegory appears to me one of the greatest faults of the poem; and to this there was no temptation but the author's opinion of its beauty."

See also Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, Vol. 3, chap. 13, §§ 6–8; Nägelsbach, *Homerische Theologie*, pp. 11, 94–96.

134 27. *P. L.* 10. 282–320.

135 6. *Il.* 14. 231–291.

135 17. *Il.* 9. 2.

135 20. *Il.* 21. 450.

135 23–24. *Il.* 5. 738–740: "About her shoulders cast she the tasseled ægis terrible, whereon is Panic as a crown all round about, and Strife is therein and Valor and horrible Onslaught withal." Perhaps Addison is also thinking of *Il.* 4. 439–440: "These were urged on of Ares, and those of bright-eyed Athene, and Terror and Rout, and Strife whose fury wearieth not."

135 25. This does not appear to be in Homer, and I have not found it elsewhere.

135 26. *Discord as the mother*, etc. Not Homer, but probably Hesiod, *Theogony* 226–232.

135 26. *Venus*, etc. *Il.* 5. 338.

135 27. *Bellona*, etc. *Il.* 5. 593.

135 31. *P. L.* 6. 762.

136 1. *Hours. P. L.* 6. 4. *Discord. P. L.* 10. 707–708.

136 4. *P. L.* 4. 604.

136 5. *P. L.* 3. 710.

136 19. *Prometheus Bound*, beginning. The Greek word βία should be translated 'Violence' rather than 'Necessity'; Mrs. Browning renders it by 'Force.' See note on 134 17.

136 28. Habakkuk 3. 5.

139 3 ff. *Œdipus the King* 1451–1454.

139 12 ff. Rev. 8. 3, 4.

139 25. *P. L.* 11. 22–25.

139 30. Ezek. 1. 6; 10. 12.

140 5. *P. L.* 11. 72–83.

140 16. *P. L.* 11. 141–180.

140 19. *P. L.* 11. 184–190.

143 5. *P. L.* 11. 376–411.

143 19. *P. L.* 11. 429–447.

143 28. *P. L.* 11. 477–488.

144 4. Cf. 135 3–136 6.

144 16. *P. L.* 11. 500–555.

144 21. *A scene. P. L.* 11. 580–596.

145 5. *P. L.* 11. 638–673.

145 17. *P. L.* 11. 712–718.

145 21. *Metamorph.* 1. 260–312.

145 24. *Wolf. Met.* 1. 304: "Nat lupus inter oves."

145 25. *Seneca. Natural Questions* 3. 27.

146 1–2. *Met.* 1. 291–292.

146 11. *Met.* 1. 299–300:

> Et modo qua graciles gramen carpsere capellæ
> Nunc ibi deformes ponunt sua corpora phocæ.

146 15–17. *The sky's . . . seas. P. L.* 11. 738–747.

146 17. *Rainbow. P. L.* 11. 863–867.

148 4. *P. L.* 12. 6–12.

148 20. *P. L.* 12. 51–62.

149 1. *P. L.* 12. 176–190.

149 19 ff. Ezek. 29. 3.

150 26. *Æn.* 6. 776.

150 27. *P. L.* 12. 372–384.

151 1. Cf. 35 17–30.

151 14. *Chewing ashes. P. L.* 10. 566. *Loaden.* For the word see Sidney, *Defense of Poesy* 1 10, note.

151 22. *Last speeches. P. L.* 12. 552–605.

152 11. See Bohn's edition of the *Greek Romances*, p. 74: "You may know them [the gods] . . . still more by their motion, which is a kind of gliding, an aerial impulse, without movement of the feet, cleaving rather than traversing the air."

152 31. Gen. 19. 16.

153 30 ff. Cf. Masson, *Poetical Works of John Milton* 1. 13–14: "But the most important difference between this [the second] and the previous edition is that, whereas the poem had been arranged in Ten Books in the first, it is here arranged in Twelve. This is accomplished by dividing what had formerly been the two longest Books of the poem — Books VII and X — into two Books each. There is a corresponding division in the 'Arguments' of these Books; and the 'Arguments,' instead of being given in a body at the beginning, are prefixed to the Books to which they severally apply. These changes, we are distinctly informed, were made by Milton himself. To smooth over the breaks made by the division of the two Books, the three new lines were added which now form the beginning of Book VIII and the five that begin Book XII; and there are one or two other slight additions or alterations, also dictated by Milton, in the course of the text, besides a few verbal variations, such as would arise in reprinting."

155 1 ff. Cf. 6 29–31, and note.

155 29–156 12. Matthew Arnold (*A French Critic on Milton*) quotes this, and adds: "This is the sort of criticism which held our grandfathers and great-grandfathers spellbound in solemn reverence. But it is all based upon convention, and on the positivism of the modern reader it is thrown away. Does the work which you praise, he asks, affect me with high pleasure and do me good, when I try it as fairly as I can? The critic who helps such a questioner is one who has sincerely asked himself, also, this same question; who has answered it in a way which agrees, in the main, with what the questioner finds to be his own honest experience in the matter, and who shows the reasons for the common experience."

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

[A few of the commonest names are omitted, such as Adam, Eve, Milton, Paradise; so Paradise Lost, except where there is reference to a specific book or passage, and the various synonyms for the name of the Divine Being; but the word Messiah is included. The numbers enclosed in square brackets point to a reference merely, not a quotation.]

Abraham 150 5.
Abdiel 88 4.
Achates 9 14.
Achilles 4 16, 25 [9 2], 12 10, 19, 37 6, 74 21, 117 6.
Adonis 47 6, 7, 11, 13, 21.
Æneas 1 11, 2 21, 4 17, 27, 9 13, 12 11, 16, 16 2, 37 6, 38 5, 65 20, 30, 74 26, 94 22, 111 3, 117 11, 17, 118 2, 5, 8, 21, 23, 32, 119 14.
Æneid, see Virgil.
Æschylus 24 5, 136 19.
Aidoneus, see Pluto.
Anchises 150 24.
Aphrodite, see Venus.
Apollo 33 2, 10, 136 19.
Ares, see Mars.
Ariosto 36 27.
Aristotle 3 10, 4 10, 5 20, 8 3, 11 12, 13 1, 15, 23, 33, 14 3, 24 11, 24, 25 8, 29, 27 8, 13, 16, 29, 30 13, 34 10, 35 10, 36 30, 37 3, 40 17, 64 28, 33, 66 30, 70 23.
Poetics [6. 5 : 8 3; 6. 14 : 2 4–9; 9. 6 : 66 30; 10 : 34 10; 11. 2 : 35 10; 13. 2, 3 : 13 3 ff.; 16. 8 : 35 10; 17. 3, 5 : 6 5 ff.; 19. 1, 2 : 14 15; 22 : 21 8 ff.; 23. 1 : 2 4–9; 23. 3 : 2 16 ff.; 24. 7 : 37 1; 24. 8, 10 : 64 28; 24. 11 : 70 23; 26. 6 : 3 10–14].
Ascanius 9 21, 119 2.
Athena, see Minerva.
Azazel 48 20.

Babel 148 20.
Beelzebub 26 16, 56 1, 24
Belial 46 16, 54 25.
Bellona 135 27.
Boccalini 32 30.
Boileau 50 20.
Lutrin 10 31.
Bossu 85 5, 86 28, 154 8.

Cain 143 19.
Caliban 15 26.
Camilla 9 27.
Canticles 81 18.
Cato 37 11, 12.
Cicero, see Tully.
Circe 66 20.
Cithæron, Mount 139 4.
Claudian 17 16, 24 6, 93 3, 25.
Cloanthus 9 17.
Confusion 136 5.
Consternation 135 28.

Dacier 84 18, 85 5.

Death 10 18, 36 25, 58 23, 27, 28, 59 17, 24, 66 5, 127 34, 128 21, 134 15, 19, 27, 135 24, 136 17, 30.
Dido 9 21, 16 2, 123 32.
Diomedes 135 25.
Dionysius Halicarnasseus 117 21.
Discord 73 30, 135 23, 26, 136 1.
Dispensary, The, see Garth.
Dryden 17 21, 27 30, 31 15, 36 4, 41 1, 114 21.
Spanish Friar, The 4 4.

Eden 70 17, 71 22, 82 3.
Egypt 149 1, 17.
Enipeus 93 10.
Enyo, see Bellona.
Euclid 27 29.
Euryalus 9 26.
Evander 9 23, 25.
Ezekiel 84 31, 85 9, 96 4, 139 30.

Fame 10 27, 73 31.
Fear 135 17.
Fever 136 28.
Flight 135 17.
Frenzy 136 30.
Fury 135 24.

Gabriel 12 2, 73 12, 15, 26, 74 18.
Garth:
Dispensary, The 10 30.
Genesis 100 33.
Graces 135 27.
Grotius 96 4.
Gyas 9 16.

Hector 9 24, 74 21.
Helen 1 11, 2 14.
Heliodorus 152 11.
Hephaistos, see Vulcan.
Hera, see Juno.
Hercules 9 1.
Hesebon 26 16.
Hesiod 92 18.
Homer 2 11, 3 10, 6 3, 17, 8 6, 18, 9 6, 12, [28], 10 13, 11 11, 12 1, 13 25, 15 9, 20, 30, 16 13, 20, 26, 17 3, 24, 18 11, 24, 29, 23 24, 25 6, 26 2, 29, 28 11, 36 20, 28, 37 7, 39 15, 43 3, 46 14, 50 6, 17, 26, 51 4, 65 25, 69 2, 73 30, 74 20, 79 5, 81 20, 84 13, 17, 20, 85 6, 87 22, 31, 91 9, 92 26, 93 24, 94 28, 95 2, 9, 21, 96 5, 18, 19, 29, 33, 100 15, 19, 102 14, 103 12, 13, 117 3, 120 21, 125 20, 32, 135 3, 6, 11, 29, 156 6.
Iliad 2 2, 10, 5 14, 6 5, 14, 30, 8 15, 10 2, 12 6, 15 6, 16 17, 36 13, 37 15, 66 21, 69 20, 72 26, 74 27, 91 11, 95 18, 119 24, 135 7, 143 10, 155.
[Book 1.
247–265 : 8 20; 403 : 87 31; 505 : 22 9–12; 595–600 : 9 10.
Book 2.
211–277 : 9 11; 673 : 22 9–12; 813 : 87 31.
Book 4.
442–443 : 73 30.
Book 5.
330–342 : 95 9 ff.; 338 : 135 26; 593 : 135 27; 738–740 : 135 23–24; 738–747 : 103 15 ff.; 749 : 84 13 ff.; 855–863 : 95 18 ff.
Book 8.
68–72 : 74 23.
Book 9.
2 : 135 17.
Book 14.
231–291 : 135 6; 286–291 : 72 26; 291 : 87 31; 292–353 : 124 25.
Book 18.
375–377 : 84 13 ff.
Book 20.
51–66 : 96 21–29; 74 : 87 31.

Book 21.
328–382 : 96 30 ; 403–414 : 96 31; 450 : 135 20.
Book 22.
208–213 : 74 23.
Book 23.
5 11.]
Odyssey 11 11, 15 6, 66 21, 69 20, 155 1.
[Book 8.
266–366 : 19 1.
Book 9.
66 20.
Book 10.
66 20.
Book 11.
315–316 : 92 26.
Book 12.
66 21.
Book 13.
146–183 : 65 20.
Book 18.
1–107 : 19 2.]
Horace 2 12, 22 13, 25 4, 43 4, 61 1.
Art of Poetry [16–18 : 70 30; 38–41 : 61 1; 136–142 : 43 4; 147 : 2 13; 148 : 2 12; 309 : 30 28 ff.; 351–353 : 22 13; 359 : 22 13].
Hotspur 15 26, 135 20.
Hours 102 16, 136 1.

Ida, Mount 93 10, 124 31.
Iliad, see Homer.
Irus 19 2.

Jeremiah 94 32.
Julius Cæsar 15 26.
Juno 124 25.
Jupiter 62 27, 74 21, 24, 96 24, 124 24, 26.

Lausus 9 24.
Leda 2 13.
Lee 24 8.
Lemnos 93 8.
Limbo of Vanity 36 25, 64 23, 66 14.
Locke 30 16.
Longinus 17 2, 32 25, 73 31, 79 5, 92 26, 99 1, 100 23, [100 30].
On the Sublime [8 : 99 1 ff.; 9 : 100 30 ff.; 13, 14 : 100 9].
Lot 152 32.
Lucan 17 14, 22 32, 38 10.
Lucian 47 9.
Lutrin, see Boileau.

Maccabees 94 29.
Mammon 48 15, 55 6.
Mars 19 1, 95 17, 96 21, 32.
Massacre 135 24.
Maundrell 47 3.
Menœtes 19 7.
Messiah 5 4, 36 11, 84 30, 91 22, 96 3, 8, 96 15, 20, 101 22, 102 21, 105 33, 106 6, 135 32, 136 5, 139 26, 150 5, 29.
Mezentius 9 24.
Michael 12 2, 94 12, 95 2, 140 9, 141 12.
Milton :
Paradise Lost.
Book 1.
16 28, 61 12 ; 1–6 : 42 14–19 ; [1–26 : 43 5]; [27–49 : 43 12]; 44–49 : 89 12–17 ; [50–53 : 43 14 ff.] ; [59 : 67 17]; [66 : 43 21] ; [79–191 : 56 2 ff.] ; [84–124 : 43 23 ff.]; 128–129 : 89 20–21 ; 134–137 : 90 1–4 ; [144 : 45 25] ; 169–177 : 90 5–13 ; 181–183 : 48 23–25 ; 192–196 : 44 1–5; [200–208 : 51 11]; 221–227 : 44 6–12 ; 250–253 : 45 8–11 ; 258–263 : 45 13–18 ; [259 : 45 25]; 284–296 : 44 13–25; [295–300 : 43 18]; 314–315 : 44 28–29; 335–337 : 25 12–

14; [376–521 : 46 9]; [392–393 : 56 16]; [392–405 : 46 16]; [408 : 26 16]; 446–457 : 46 21–32; [490–505 : 46 16]; [529 : 45 24]; [533–539 : 48 19]; 541–543 : 48 28–30; 567–573 : 49 3–9; 575–576 : 39 1–2; 589–591 : 45 1–3; [594–599 : 51 11]; 615–620 : 46 3–8; [623 : 45 25]; 642 : 40 13; 650–660 : 56 13–23; 663–666 : 49 12–15; [678–688 : 48 15, 53 8 ff.]; 710–712 : 49 17–19; [710–730 : 48 15]; [713–716 : 41 6–7]; 726–730 : 49 21–25; [745 : 41 9]; [768–775 : 51 12]; [781–788 : 51 12]; 789–797 : 48 6–14.

Book 2.

16 28, 36 26, 46 18, 61 12; [11 ff. : 52 12]; [43–108 : 53 13]; [44–45 : 53 18]; [51 : 54 3]; 60–70 : 54 9–19; [92–98 : 54 20]; [101–105 : 54 22]; [117 : 54 27]; [143–145 : 54 34]; [145–151 : 55 1]; 165–168 : 90 16–19; [237–249 : 55 13 ff.]; 262–273 : 55 22–33; [299–309 : 56 5]; 344–353 : 56 26–35; 404–409 : 25 15–20; [465–467 : 52 12]; 476–477 : 57 19–20; [528 ff. : 57 21 ff.]; 539–541 : 57 28–30; [546–555 : 57 31]; [555–560 : 58 1]; [575–581 : 58 4]; [583–586 : 58 6]; [595–603 : 58 5]; [624–628 : 58 15 ff.]; 624–628 : 58 10–14; [629 ff. : 52 13]; [629–643 : 58 21]; [648–879 : 10 18, 36 24]; [655 : 26 25–26]; [666 ff. : 52 15]; [666–677 : 59 17 ff.]; [673 : 26 25–26]; 674–678 : 53 3–7; 678–679 : 22 3–4; [697 : 26 25–26]; [746 : 59 14]; [752–802 : 58 25]; [774–777 : 59 14]; [787–789 : 59 19]; 803–807 : 59 4–8; 879–889 : 59 30–60 8; [900 : 26 25–26]; 911 : 60 24; [928–938 : 60 17 ff.]; [960–967 : 60 9 ff.]; [968–987 : 53 11]; 988–998 : 90 26–91 3; [1013 : 60 21]; [1019 : 41 5]; [1034–1037 : 60 25]; [1051–1053 : 60 27].

Book 3.

[1–55 : 38 18, 68 24]; 56–79 : 62 32–63 22; [80–89 : 63 23 ff.]; 136–143 : 63 29–36; [217–218 : 64 3]; 344–349 : 64 9–14; [344–415 : 64 4 ff.]; [418–441 : 64 15 ff.]; [444–497 : 36 25]; 474–476 : 23 7–9; [483 : 41 9]; [498–561 : 67 5 ff.]; [543–551 : 67 12]; [561–619 : 67 19 ff.]; [575 : 41 9]; [617 : 41 10]; [619–623 : 67 26 ff.]; [682–689 : 68 29]; [694–736 : 68 1]; 708–713 : 68 8–13; [710 : 136 5]; 722–725 : 68 18–21; [740 : 41 8].

Book 4.

[18–113 : 71 25 ff.]; 32–39 : 72 1–8; [179–183 : 72 13]; 181 : 40 14; [194–196 : 72 13]; 288–294 : 75 27–76 5; 297–306 : 76 6–15; [312–320 : 38 19]; 319–322 : 76 16–19; 323–324 : 22 6–7; [325–350 : 76 20 ff.]; [340–350 : 72 17]; [395–397 : 72 16]; [397–408 : 72 18]; 408 : 76 29; 411–412 : 76 30–31; 436–448 : 77 1–13; 449 : 77 22; [449–491 : 77 14 ff.]; 492–499 : 78 4–11; [502–503 : 78 12]; 506 : 24 15; [555–556 : 75 8]; [589–592 : 75 9]; [601–688 : 78 15]; [604 : 136 4]; [635–658 : 78 17]; [680–688 : 75 16 ff.]; 720–725 : 75 23–28; [750–770 : 38 18]; 797–798 :

75 15–16 ; [799–809 : 72 28] ; [810–814 : 72 30 ff.] ; 827–831 : 73 5–8 ; [834–848 : 73 10] ; 866–873 : 73 18–25 ; [878–896 : 73 26] ; 977–980 : 74 1–4 ; 985–989 : 74 5–9 ; [996–1004 : 74 19].

Book 5.

3 7 ; 9–30 : 80 14–81 15 ; 38–47 : 82 12–21 ; 129–135 : 83 6–12 ; [153–208 : 83 13] ; [247–253 : 83 32 ff.] ; 253–256 : 84 7–10 ; [266–287 : 85 10] ; 285–287 : 85 21–23 ; [287–300 : 85 24 ff.] ; 331–337 : 85 29–86 2 ; [350–360 : 86 8–10] ; [388 : 86 10] ; 395–397 : 23 10–12 ; [404–433 : 38 20] ; [433 : 86 20] ; [443–445 : 86 12] ; 519–543 : 86 24 ; 755–762 : 87 23–30 ; [805–907 : 88 4] ; 868–869 : 40 11–12 ; 896–907 : 88 14–25.

Book 6.

3 8, 16 29, 46 18 ; [4 : 136 1] ; [56–60 : 91 12 ff.] ; [212–217 : 91 14 ff.] ; 217–219 : 97 10–12 ; 320–325 : 94 15–20 ; 329–334 : 95 3–8 ; 355–362 : 53 24–31, 95 27–34 ; 579–580 : 24 16–17 ; [582–590 : 91 17 ff.] ; 607–629 : 19 20–20 8 ; [620–627 : 54 28] ; [639–669 : 91 20 ff.] ; 643–646 : 93 20–23 ; 710–714 : 96 10–14 ; 749–752 : 85 1–4 ; [760–770 : 91 23 ff.] ; [762 : 135 31] ; 832–834 : 97 17–19 ; 853–855 : 97 24–26.

Book 7.

3 8, 16 29, 68 7 ; [70–108 : 101 8] ; 98–102 : 101 14–18 ; 197–207 : 102 1–11 ; 210–231 : 102 25–103 10 ; 242 : 104 4 ; 252–257 : 104 14–19 ; 285–290 : 104 23–28 ; [309–338 : 104 29 ff.] ; 370–384 : 105 3–17 ; [387–498 : 105 23 ff.] ; [412–416 : 105 25] ; 463 : 24 18 ; [463–466 : 105 25] ; [519–547 : 105 29] ; 550–568 : 106 11–29.

Book 8.

[1–38 : 108 6–11] ; 39–58 : 109 1–20 ; [64–178 : 109 21–28] ; [203–207 : 109 29] ; 210–216 : 110 16–22 ; 229–236 : 110 26–33 ; 240–244 : 111 8–12 ; [250–520 : 109 30] ; 253–266 : 111 19–32 ; [267–277 : 111 33] ; 273–277 : 112 9–13 ; [278–282 : 112 1] ; [287–291 : 112 14] ; [297–451 : 112 16 ff.] ; [333–336 : 112 30] ; 349–352 : 113 1–4 ; [357–451 : 113 5 ff.] ; 367–368 : 113 23–24 ; 377–380 : 113 25–28 ; [452–477 : 113 29] ; 470–477 : 114 1–8 ; [478–520 : 114 9–15] ; 521–539 : 114 31–115 14 ; 546–559 : 115 15–28 ; [560–594 : 115 33] ; 596–605 : 116 5–14 ; [645–651 : 116 15].

Book 9.

11 : 40 10 ; [58–69 : 120 8 ff.] ; [63 : 129 30] ; [69–96 : 120 13 ff.] ; [99–178 : 120 21] ; 179–184 : 120 29–34 ; 192–199 : 121 10–17 ; [205–384 : 121 18 ff.] ; 397–401 : 121 31–122 3 ; 442–443 : 82 4–5 ; 633–642 : 123 15–24 ; 780–784 : 124 5–9 ; 838–844 : 122 5–11 ; [888–904 : 122 28] ; 904–916 : 122 15–27 ; 997–1003 : 124 12–18 ; [1007–1189 : 123 25] ; 1029–1045 : 125 3–19.

Book 10.

35 20 ; 17–33 : 127 3–19 ; [90–208 : 127 20] ; [282–320 : 134 27] ; [326–346 : 129 31 ff.] ; 414–419 : 129 31 ff. ; [441–458 :

130 3] ; [504–547 : 130 6] ; [566 : 151 14] ; [575–577 : 130 18]; 588–590 : 128 23–25; 616–618 : 128 3–5 ; 641–645 : 128 10–14 ; [649–667 : 129 1–11] ; 668–671 : 129 17–20 ; [707–708 : 136 1]; 723–731 : 132 13–21 ; 733–736 : 23 13–16; 743–750 : 131 17–24; 771–782 : 131 28–132 6; 817–825 : 132 22–30; 845–853 : 133 1–9; [863–908 : 133 11 ff.] ; 909–924 : 133 19–34 ; [979–1006 : 133 36 ff.] ; 1098–1102 : 138 13–17.

Book II.

14–20 : 139 18–24 ; [22–25 : 139 25]; [72–83 : 140 5]; 108–111 : 140 12–15 ; 127–130 : 140 1–4 ; 130 : 24 19; [141–180 : 140 16] ; [184–190 : 140 19] ; 203–211 : 141 1–9 ; 238–250 : 141 19–31; 269–285 : 142 1–17 ; 315–333 : 142 22–143 4 ; 376–377 : 25 21–22 ; [376–411 : 143 5]; [429–447 : 143 19]; 462–465 : 143 24–27; [477–488 : 143 28]; 489–493 : 144 5–9; 494–497 : 144 12–15; [500–555 : 144 16]; [580–596 : 144 21] ; 614–625 : 144 26–145 4; [638–673 : 145 5]; 675–680 : 145 8–13 ; [712–718 : 145 28]; [738–747 : 146 15–17]; 749–750 : 146 4–5 ; 750–752 : 146 9–11; 754–761 : 147 3–10; 829–835 : 146 23–29 ; [863–867 : 146 17].

Book XII.

[6–12 : 148 4] ; [51–62 : 148 20]; 128–140 : 150 11–21; [176–190 : 149 1] ; 190–199 : 149 6–15; 206–214 : 149 26–34; [372–384 : 150 27] ; 469–470 : 150 34–35; [552–605 : 151 22]; 610–623 : 151 29–152 8 ; 624–634 : 152 19–29 ; 637–641 : 153 1–5; 641–647 : 153 10–16; 646–647 : 153 27–28; 648–649 : 153 21–22.

Minerva 96 31, 103 16, 135 22.
Mnestheus 9 16.
Moloch 46 16, 53 13, 95 16.
Moses 43 7, 149 25.

Necessity 136 18.
Neptune 96 25.
Nisus 9 25.

Odyssey, see Homer.
Œdipus 35 9, 138 19.
Olympus 92 29.
Ossa 92 28, 29.
Ovid 17 14, 22 31, 92 27, 118 14, 130 9, 145 20, 27, 31, 146 11, 147 2.

Pain 136 29.
Pallas (the goddess), see Minerva.
Pallas 9 23, 25, 37 33, 38 3, 6.
Pandemonium 48 16, 55 10.
Paradise Lost, see Milton.
Pelion 92 29, 30.
Perrault 18 18, 50 15, 20.
Pestilence 136 26.
Plato 103 22.
Plutarch 26 28.
Pluto 96 27.
Polydorus 66 32.
Polypheme 66 20.
Polyphemus 9 1.
Poseidon, see Neptune.
Priam 9 24.
Prometheus 136 20.
Psalms 83 14, 96 9.
Pursuit 135 24.

Raphael 11 28, 12 3, 83 32, 85 10, 24, 86 14, 30, 108 1, 141 15.
Roscommon 93 4.
Rout 135 23.

Satan 22 2, 43 24, 54 30, 56 3, 11, 58 21, 27, 59 18, 24, 60 9, 63 23, 67 5, 27, 71 21, 72 24, 73 10, 11, 26, 28, 74 18, 75 23, 89 11, 95 1, 120 9, 129 29, 130 9, 16, 151 19.
Scaliger 38 12, 84 17.
Seneca 39 28, 145 25.
Sergestus 9 17.
Shakespeare 15 25, 24 7.
Sibyl 111 3.
Silence 136 4.
Sin 10 18, 36 24, 58 23, 26, 27, 28, 33, 59 2, 13, 23, 66 15, 127 34, 128 21, 134 15, 19, 136 2, 17.
Sinon 9 27.
Sirach 107 8.
Sirens 66 21.
Sleep 135 6.
Solomon 81 21.
Sophocles 24 5, 138 19.
Spanish Friar, The, see Dryden.
Spenser 36 27.
Statius 17 15, 24 7.
Strength 136 18.

Tasso 17 17, 156 9, 10.
Terror 135 23, 27.
Thammuz 46 18.
Thersites 9 11, 19 1.
Theseus 8 21.
Tully 37 9.
Turnus 9 23, 37 31, 38 2, 5, 74 25, 94 23.

Ulysses 11 11, 18, 35 1, 65 19, 117 7.
Uriel 12 2, 75 8.

Venus 19 1, 124 27, 135 26.
Victory 135 25, 31.
Virgil 2 26, 3 25, 5 13, 6 4, 17, 9 12, 10 13, 27, 12 1, 15 16, 20, 16 12, 16, 17 12, 22, 18 21, 25, 23 23, 25 3, 5, 28 11, 36 20, 28, 37 7, 33, 38 7, 39 15, 41 2, 46 15, 50 6, 51 4, 57 12, 62 26, 65 25, 69 2, 73 31, 74 24, 92 27, 94 21, 100 19, 111 2, 117 11, 118 1, 7, 31, 119 10, 123 33, 129 24, 135 3, 30, 143 10, 147 1, 150 22, 154 6, 156 6.
Æneid 2 2, 10, 28, 3 15, 5 12, 6 5, 15, 30, 10 1, 28, 12 6, 13 28, 17 24, 19 6, 36 14, 37 15, 31, 38 5, 65 29, 69 20, 74 27, 86 31, 87 1, 119 8, 18, 24, 123 32, 143 10, 13, 150 22, 153 30, 155 2.
[Book 1.
222 : 9 16–17, 19; 223–226 : 62 27; 510 : 9 16–17; 612 : 9 16–17, 19.
Book 2.
13–198 : 9 27.
Book 3.
19–46 : 65 30 ff.; 255–257 : 118 25.
Book 4.
166–168 : 123 32; 173–197 : 10 27; 176–177 : 73 31.
Book 5.
5 11; 116–285 : 9 16–17; 158–182 : 19 7; 293–361 : 9 23 ff.
Book 6.
552–558 : 111 2; 752–886 : 57 12 ff.; 776 : 150 26.
Book 7.
116 : 119 1; 378–384 : 5 13; 647–654 : 9 23 ff.; 803–817 : 9 27.
Book 8.
97–584 : 9 23 ff.; 481–495 : 9 23 ff.

Book 9.
107–122 : 65 20, 119 6 ff.; 176–449 : 9 23 ff.
Book 10.
362–509 : 9 23 ff.; 501–505 : 37 34; 689–908 : 9 23 ff.
Book 11.
1–99, 139–181, 498–519, 532–596, 648–867 : 9 23 ff.
Book 12.
725–727 : 74 24; 728–741 : 94 22.]
Vulcan 9 10, 19 1, 84 13, 85 8, 93 9, 96 30.

Xanthus 96 31.

Zephon 73 10.
Zeus, see Jupiter.
Zoilus 18 18.

Date Due

821.4 M642pc #227303
Addison, Joseph
Criticisms on Paradise lost

DEMCO

THE MASTER'S COLLEGE
821.4 M642pc MAIN
Addison, Joseph/Criticisms on Paradise l
3 3540 00001 0858